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Understanding Informal Segregation: Racial and Spatial Identities among the Indian Minority of
Mokopane

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa is a melting pot and a meeting place for a multitude of 'races', representing an optimal arena for understanding the psychology of contact and desegregation. This study focuses on the spatial arrangement of minority identities, through continued informal segregation, among the Indian minority of Mokopane. Drawing on 28 open-ended interviews, segregation is explored in everyday interactions and spaces. Working within a spatial-discursive framework, critical discourse analysis is employed, paired with a basic observational and descriptive analysis. Participants' discursive constructions overwhelmingly demonstrate patterns of informal segregation among the Indian minority community, within the micro-ecology of contact. Caught within a sandwiched or 'buffer' identity, issues of space constantly inform negotiating conceptions of 'Indianness'. In mapping the dialogue of the Indian community, a story of the evolution of segregation emerges, creating a replication of internal divisions. This study ultimately demonstrates the need for a spatial-discursive orientation and a more 'embodied' turn in our understanding of segregation.

Key Words: minority groups; micro-ecology of contact; segregation; racial isolation; race relations; inter-group relations; spatial identity

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Rethinking Social Boundaries

More than a decade after the demise of Apartheid, the promise of transformation and reconciliation still lingers. Although Apartheid's official political structures and legalities have been abandoned, South Africa remains a deeply divided society. Racial isolation persists to invade wider, but especially more private spaces (Durrheim & Dixon, 2004). It remains unclear why South Africans continue to maintain spatial boundaries in the absence of institutional or legislative demands. South Africa represents a good site for work on racial and spatial identities given its history and present struggle with issues of reconciliation and transformation.

Although much research is emerging from South Africa aiming to engage the challenges of integration, more emphasis has been placed on macro-processes of institutional change. More intimate, micro-ecological considerations have not received the same amount of attention. At the same time, Black-White dimensions of segregation¹ and prejudice have also dominated traditional research. The minority voice, specifically the South African Indian community, has been neglected. This study will adopt a case-study approach and use the Indian community of the small town of Mokopane as the site for research. Assuming a spatial-discursive psychological framework, shifting meanings of 'Indianness' will be explored. Working within the micro-ecology of contact, continued and adapted forms of segregation within the town of Mokopane, and the Indian minority in particular, will be questioned. This study aims to provide a space to engage a dialogue of transformation that raises the voice of the South African Indian minority.

Theoretical and Definitional Underpinnings

This study falls within the broad spectrum of the psychology of 'race' and contact, in an analysis of the micro-ecology of contact. A macro-sociological level of analysis encompasses multi-dimensional aspects of segregation; often pertaining to wide-scale investigations of large institutions or cities. Macro-processes of segregation also incorporate larger social issues, such as

¹ Segregation is understood in terms of Goldberg's (1998) definition as "an ideology narrating the presumptuous degrees of racial separation" (p. 21).

economic inequalities and education, as contributory factors of racial isolation. In contrast, the micro-ecology of segregation involves more intimate contact involving everyday spaces and interactions (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). The basic premises of Gordon Allport's (1954) *contact hypothesis*² therefore acts as the principal guide to this thesis, and will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

Informing this study is the concept of place-identity. In considering issues of racial desegregation, the significance given to *place* falls at its centre. Relph (1976) was one of the first to acknowledge the importance of 'place' in understanding our identity. The notion of spatial identities (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006) is formed around this concept of place-identity, where individuals are attached and find meaning within certain spaces. Towns, a community, a street or a house: these appealingly neutral places provide a sense of spatial identification. A person's physical environment therefore helps create an individual's personal identity. Symbolic meaning can resonate between an individual and a specific place, entrenched with personal significance and value (Foster, 2005). Durrheim and Dixon (2004) identify place identity as a process effecting both individual and group identity, considering it to be a historical bond.

Out of the four racial categories constructed under Apartheid, three of these 'race' groups will be used in this thesis: Black (people of African descent), White (people of European descent) and Indian (people of Asian descent). It is not the intention of this study to endorse or replicate random categorisation tendencies, but as Day (2006) explains, they are still relevant to current social circumstances and society continues to enact the legitimacy of these categories. Here, 'Race' is understood as a social construction of difference, rather than a natural category (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The consequent effect of racial categorisation on identity conceptions of Indianness will be explored, mapping the negotiation of shifting identities in a post-Apartheid climate. Although Apartheid classification standards labelled 'Indian' as a separate 'race' group, it can be argued that 'Indian' is in fact an ethnic, rather than a racial identity.

It is not easy to distinguish between 'race' and ethnicity. Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) study, discussed in more detail in the proceeding chapter, provides an in-depth analysis of the

² Gordon Allport's (1954) book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, laid the foundation for contemporary research on segregation, where he argues that increased interracial contact will result in a reduction of prejudice.

definitional and theoretical controversies surrounding 'race' and ethnicity. The multitude of assumed ethnic conflicts in the twentieth century produced an array of research on ethnic identity, yet most studies point to definitional complications of 'race', ethnicity and even nationality. Providing a collective definition, Cornell and Hartmann describe ethnicity as: *persons having a shared ancestry, cultural characteristics, historical past and usually a subpopulation within a larger society*. In most cases there is a definite 'we-they' or 'us-them' distinction, for example, a group can argue that 'we' share a common history and 'they' do not. In his analysis on 'race' and ethnicity, Stuart Hall (2003) argues that collective identities:

Are constructed historically, culturally, politically- and the concept which refers to this is 'ethnicity'. The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity (p.93).

However, certain 'race' groups can also perhaps be considered as an ethnic group. This study will commonly refer to 'race' relations or racial divisions, yet it is still uncertain what exactly is considered as 'race'. In their analysis of shifting identities, Cornell and Hartmann (2007) outline the physiological and genetic differences used by many to define racial distinctions. 'Race' usually implies a natural difference between groups. However, it is argued that contrary to popular belief, it is not so easy to classify racial groups according to physiological differences. For example, the Apartheid government identified 'Coloured' as a separate 'race' group, however it is explained how internationally this distinction does not exist. In a study on 'race' in the United States, Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994, as cited in Cornell & Hartmann, 2007) maintain that:

Racial categories are not natural categories that human beings discover; on the contrary, they are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed by human action and are, therefore, pre-eminently social products (p. 25).

This study, in line with Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) conclusions, considers 'race' and ethnicity as not the same, but not as mutually exclusive categories either. While not underestimating the importance of this distinction, both ethnicity and 'race' are understood as social constructs and in this respect and for the purpose of this study, no definitional distinction of 'race' and ethnicity will be made.

A hybrid methodological approach³ is used, embracing a discursive-spatial orientation. This study mostly centres around a discursive psychological approach. However, to fully explore the psychology of racialised segregation, discourse, space and embodiment will be used as a collective force. 'Race' relations research, as explained by Durrheim and Dixon (2005a), is in need of a shift in methodological focus. Exploiting the reinforcing relationship between talk, bodies and space will unlock a greater scope in understanding the multi-faceted processes that encourage and maintain interracial divisions. Discursive construction of informal segregation and identity concerns will comprise the foundation of the analysis; while basic observational and descriptive methods will be used to investigate more specific spatial aspects.

Why Small Towns?

This study falls within a larger sociological study concerned with segregation dynamics in small towns specifically. Various small towns have been chosen nationally to investigate changing patterns of segregation. The main question guiding this larger study is to determine if and how segregation continues to manifest itself within the small town context. It remains unclear how people still maintain racial separation within small towns, given the limited 'space factor'. Contact in small towns is hard to avoid, but it appears that groups continue to replicate old Apartheid divisions in the absence of institutional demands. The overall intention of this project is to track national patterns of segregation in a post-Apartheid South African environment. This thesis, therefore, assumes a case-study approach⁴, using the small town of Mokopane as the site of research. Small towns are further understood as micro-ecological settings, since segregation is explored in a more intimate environment. The concept of place-identity also surfaces, investigating individual and group attachment within the town and community.

I was initially drawn to the project because of my close association with 'small town mentality'. Having lived in different small towns for the most part of my life, the study had significant personal relevance. During my adolescence, for the duration of my high-school life, I lived in the

³ This study uses a case-study approach, drawing on both basic observational methodology and qualitative interviews.

⁴ Stake (2009) maintains that case-study research uses mixed methods in data collection and can also be considered as a 'field work' approach to research.

town of Polokwane. My involvement in the school and community life made it clear that hostile racial divisions characterised town life. I was attracted to the idea of exploring the inner workings of segregation mechanisms within this small town dynamic. Polokwane itself did not, however, qualify as a small town; therefore Mokopane, a town close in proximity and similar in its composition, was selected.

A pilot study was conducted during the June/July period of 2008 to examine segregation patterns in the town of Mokopane as a whole. Thirty interviews were conducted and results clearly demonstrated a continued pattern of informal segregation in the town. Discourses demonstrated the construction of racial isolation as a natural and normal phenomenon, further exposing the superficial quality of inter-racial contact in Mokopane. Analysis not only confirmed patterns of segregation, but illustrated that racialised boundaries were present at different levels. Multiple levels of prejudice and segregation were present in Mokopane - between the English and Afrikaans, the Ndebele and the Sepedi and the South African Indians and the Indian and Pakistani immigrants. As a minority in the town, South African Indians possibly assume the identity of the “other”. Black-White dimensions of prejudice seem to dominate most segregation research, with the minority voice only a background concern. The Indian community of Mokopane, in the Akasia area, therefore presented as a unique opportunity to explore changing conceptions of South African Indian identity: their positioning within segregation dynamics and internal divisions within the community. Focusing on the Akasia community specifically will further delineate the micro-ecological approach, since explorations are restricted to a more intimate surrounding.

Context of Segregation: the Akasia Indian Community of Mokopane

The South African Indian community, mostly residing in Akasia⁵, of the town of *Mokopane*, in the Limpopo Province, is the chosen area of investigation. Mokopane falls within the Mogalakwena municipality district, incorporating many neighbouring villages. The municipal Integrated Development Plan (IDP) review (2009) and Statistics South Africa (2003) indicates that estimates for Mogalakwena’s population size vary. An estimate of 19, 394 people reside in

⁵ The exact population of the Akasia community is uncertain, and fluctuates with the immigrant populations from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, many illegally staying in South Africa.

the town of Mokopane, excluding the neighbouring ‘townships’ of Mahwelereng and Sekegakapeng. According to Statistics South Africa there are: 9, 111 Black African, 9, 419 White, 771 Indian and 93 Coloured persons in the Mokopane. As one of the oldest towns in the old Northern Transvaal, Mokopane, formerly known as *Potgietersrus*, was founded on a series of conflicts between the local communities and the voortrekkers (Du Plooy, 1995). The town of Potgietersrus was officially named after the voortrekker leader, Piet Potgieter, to commemorate his death at the Makapans cave. In 2002 the town of Potgietersrus was renamed Mokopane. ‘Mokopane’ was the chief of the Kekana’s; a tribe responsible for Potgieter’s death. Therefore, the nature of the name change may signify the subtle hostilities between the Africans and Afrikaners.

Agriculture has historically been the town’s main industry, however currently the mining industry has taken precedence. Geographical studies, having produced large amounts of work on residential desegregation in post-apartheid cities, demonstrate the deeply racist and conservative history of the area. Polokwane, for example, formally known as Pietersburg, a larger city in close proximity to Mokopane, has been used in these investigations (Donaldson & van der Merwe, 1999; Kotze & Donaldson, 1998). Of the four racial categories constructed under Apartheid, three of these ‘race’ groups hold a presence in the Mokopane: Black, White and Indian. The Coloured community is an obscure population group, with no previously designated Coloured township in the town. Observations concluded that most Coloured residents have integrated into either the Black or White communities and are rarely spoken of during interviews. The designated Indian township assigned during Apartheid was named Akasia. Before addressing the history of the Akasia Indian minority, it may be useful to outline the history of the Indian community in South Africa as a whole.

Indians in South Africa

In order to gain a better understanding of identity issues and segregation dynamics among the South African Indians, it is necessary to begin with a brief account of the historical background of the community. Immigration of the Indians began, and is most concentrated, in the Natal region. During the nineteenth century, the development of the sugar industry in Natal placed demands for cheap labour. When the routinely-used African community was not willing to work

under poor working conditions, additional “Labour” was then imported from India (Kuper, Watts & Davies, 1958; Kuppusami, 1983). The majority of the Indians in South Africa are Hindu Indians, with some converting to Christianity. Coming from various areas of India, this created a diversity of Indian cultures in South Africa. The Hindus mostly came from North India, speaking Hindi and Gujarate, and from South India, speaking Tamil and Telegu. Most of the Muslim Indians came from the Gujarati area. 1860 to 1905 marked the peak time for Indian immigration, by 1911 there was a large decline (Freund, 1995; Jithoo, 1985, July).

There was a secondary group of Indian Muslim immigrants who voluntarily came to South Africa, to escape religious persecution. From 1874 “passengers” or “free” Indians settled in different parts of the country, not only Natal but also the old Transvaal. These Muslim Indians predominantly established themselves in the trade industry (Jithoo, 1985, July; Kuppusami, 1983). The Indian settlers in Mokopane fell within this category. At present there are a total of 1 115 467 Indians living in South Africa. The highest population is clustered in Kwazulu-Natal, with a population of 798 275, compared to Limpopo’s population of 8 587 Indians (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

Indians in Mokopane

The history of the Indian community can be dated to a few pioneer families who settled in Mokopane in 1888, engaged in the trade industry in the town. Recently, a group of prominent women in the community compiled a brief history of the Indian’s in Mokopane, in an unpublished manuscript. Here, Hassan, Catchalia and Mohamed (2004) narrate the story of the community. Most of the Indians in Akasia come from the province of Gujarat and follow the Muslim religion; with a few Gujarati-speaking Hindus establishing themselves in the town as well⁶. The Indian community resided within the town until 1970 and now appears to dominate the trading industry. However, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act, the community was forced to relocate to the designated Indian township; Akasia (du Plooy, 1995). More Indians slowly moved into the area from Kwazulu-Natal, adding to the population of Akasia. Akasia remains primarily Indian, however, in recent years, a few African families have moved around

⁶ The majority of the Indians in Akasia consider themselves as Muslim, with small numbers of Hindu and Christian believers.

the boundaries of the area, while some low-income housing projects have also started in close proximity to the area (Moglalkwena municipality, 2009). More recently there has been an influx of Indian and Pakistani immigrants, also choosing to settle around this area. Officially there are 771 Indians living in Mokopane (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

The Research Questions and Chapter Overviews

This study aims to explore the subjectivities latent in our understanding of ‘race’ relations in more intimate surroundings. Explorations into the subjective experience of the Indian community of Mokopane will attempt to unlock an understanding of shifting racial and spatial identities, working within the framework of a micro-ecology of contact.

The main research question framing this study is:

How does continued informal segregation manifest itself among the Indian community of Mokopane and how have racial and spatial identities changed within this minority group?

More specifically, this study will aim to explore and document:

1. Apparent category differences: ‘South African’ Indian and ‘immigrant’ Indian.
2. How everyday processes of interaction maintain and regulate ‘race’ boundaries, mapping patterns of informal segregation.
3. What factors underpin prejudice in the community and the core values that define a South African Indian Identity?
4. Identify the apparent ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’.
5. How the construction of ‘race’, space and identity has led to the people’s sense of belonging or isolation in their subjective and physical experience of the town.

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 will provide an overview of the literature and theory guiding this thesis: on segregation research and minority identity. Chapter 3 elaborates on the methodology used to collect, document and analyse the data and the research process on the whole, also highlighting ethical details and issues of reflexivity. Chapter 4 is divided into two sections: the first section presents a basic observational and descriptive analysis of the

spatial dimensions of segregation, followed by a second section providing a discursive analysis of informal segregation in Mokopane and specifically the Indian community. In Chapter 5 shifting identity conceptions of Indianness will be examined, documenting core values in the community, using case-study examples of certain participants and the research experience. The chapter will conclude by an examination of a new pattern of segregation within the Akasia community itself. Chapter 6 will conclude this thesis by questioning the relevance of prejudice and segregation research, discussing possible approaches to reconciliation in South Africa and highlighting the limitation of this study and opportunities for further research.

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CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Desegregation and its consequences on social and psychological change, is a subject much discussed by psychological literature. The following review will sketch the background of previous research on contact and desegregation and identify the need for a shift in empirical focus. The scope of this review is centred on the limitations of traditional research on the contact hypothesis, emphasising its unrealistic characteristics, whilst calling for a new emphasis on the micro-ecology of segregation. It is still unclear why segregation persists to dictate interracial relations in the absence of formal constraints. The South African Indian community as a minority group will be identified, arguing the need to investigate the racial and spatial arrangement of minority groups within persistent segregation patterns. It is argued that segregation should be understood within the lens of space, discourse and embodiment.

This review argues for a new framework in understanding the psychology behind the contact hypothesis. A review of past investigations and methods used to explore current trends in segregation dynamics will be presented. Place-identity, paired with a combined body, space, discourse approach, will be framed as the conceptual fundamentals guiding this study. It is argued that the minority voice is often neglected in the new South Africa and overlooked in transformation discourse. Minority identity will be discussed, framing the Indian community in South Africa as a marginalised minority group. This review ultimately demonstrates a need for a new direction in segregation research targeting minority identity and positioning.

Past Investigations: Revisiting the Contact Hypothesis

Empirical investigations on racial segregation primarily emanate from the USA. Initiated by the end of legal segregation policies in the 1960s and 1970s, much empirical research has demonstrated the persistence of racial isolation, despite political transformation. Research has also focused on identifying the apparent consequences of enduring racial divisions, which filter into the organisation of cities. Such consequences, therefore, prevent the advancement of most African-Americans, producing the alleged ‘underclass’ (Massey & Fischer, 2000). The

measurement of attitudes towards desegregation marked some of the first social psychological research in this area (Clark, 1953), and remains a popular subject of study. However Dixon and Durrheim (2003), additionally supported by Schrieffer, Tredoux, Dixon and Finchilescu (2005), maintain that these conclusions are primarily descriptive, calling for more explanatory forms of research. More *active* research on the underlining motivations and processes sustaining ongoing racial separation is a needed step towards gaining a wider understanding.

Traditional work on desegregation has also adopted an alternative direction of enquiry. Gordon Allport's (1954) *contact hypothesis* was most significant in the consideration of the consequences of the inevitability of interracial contact. In short, the contact hypothesis maintains that continued isolation of groups enhances the development of negative attitudes and stereotypes, while increased contact reduces prejudice. Specifically, when four conditions are met – both groups being of equal status and sharing a common goal – will the possibility of a reduction in prejudice emerge. A range of research emanating from the contact hypothesis has produced inconsistent results and a host of limitations (Dixon, 2001; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). Although the theory cannot be entirely discredited, revision is necessary. In a synthesis of past research, Pettigrew (1998) argues that such optimal conditions are insufficient, since inter-group contact should rather be viewed as a slowly-evolving process and possibly unsuitable for real-world situations. Pettigrew's review explains how intergroup contact theory arose as a popular area of research after World War II. Social scientists were eager to explore the effects of inter-group contact in reducing prejudice. As a result, the applications of the basic assumptions of the contact hypothesis were applied widely, in particular in the desegregation of schools. The review concludes that empirical research does support the basic assumptions of Allport's hypothesis, but identifies four main problems. Firstly, selection biases in sampling strategies were commonly identified. People that hold prejudice beliefs commonly avoid inter-group contact situations. Yet the theory did prove successful in initiating positive friendships among different groups in a larger scale than the sample bias. It also seems that not all the conditions are essential for a successful reduction of prejudice. Many studies however place too much focus on facilitating but not essential conditions. It is argued that the actual process involved is often neglected, and here Pettigrew proposes additional processes that must be considered, namely:

what characterises the out-group, what behaviours are changed as a result of contact, the emotional qualities of the relationship formed and in-group assessment of the process. Finally, it is demonstrated that there is a problem of generalising results to everyday situations.

In a more recent study, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conduct a meta-analysis, combining the results of 515 studies, concluding that contact typically *does* reduce inter-group prejudice. Using 713 independent samples from the 515 studies, bias in participant selection does not appear to confound the results. The meta-analysis further shows that the hypothesis can prove to be successful in reducing prejudice for a range of groups and in multiple settings. The contact hypothesis can even be used beyond racial and ethnic forms of prejudice. However the main conclusion of the analysis was that optimal conditions are not essential, but rather enhance the reduction of prejudice. It is argued that future studies should rather shift focus to identifying what negative factors prevent inter-group contact. Although the conditions outlined in the hypothesis can lead to a reduction of prejudice in most cases, it remains unclear why contact is not sufficient in other situations to result in a decrease of prejudice.

Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005), although supporting the basic assumptions of the contact hypothesis, maintain that it is in need of a 'reality check'. Past empirical studies have mostly been conducted under ideal or unrealistic conditions, specifically in laboratory or experimental work. Inter-racial contact in reality is much more complex. It is argued that traditional experimental studies do not unlock these complexities. The article indicates a neglect of direct studies on contact and segregation in real-life settings. To assess the validity of the contact hypothesis in the South African situation, the authors suggest that experimental focus move to explore the reality of everyday prejudice and contact in real-life settings. A case-study approach for example, can allow for further investigations of the contact hypothesis in the context of daily life, rather than using unrealistic experimental conditions.

The Micro-Ecology of Racial Division

While recognising the presentation of racial division at various scales of society, most research has been conducted at a macro-sociological level. However, researchers have neglected to explore segregation in everyday interactions and spaces (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005), that is

not to underestimate the impact of macro-aspects of segregation. Essed's (1991) book, *Understanding Everyday Racism*, proposes a combined framework. She maintains that macro-aspects have been given greater attention in traditional research, while everyday workings of racism have not been explored adequately. With a focus on the gendered construction of racism, Essed considers the daily account of racism among Black women from the USA and the Netherlands. Her study uses a sample of more than 2000 experiences from Black women with higher education, to question their everyday experiences of racism. Acknowledging the dual importance of both macro and micro considerations, she uses a combined approach: integrating discourse analysis, social psychology and women's theory in her assessment. It is argued that this combined framework focuses on daily experiences and integrates micro-ecological understandings into a wider context, involving institutional influence for example. Her analysis, using this interplay between macro and micro aspects, concludes that racist ideas become integrated into our daily practices, gradually become considered as normal and acceptable. It is argued that racism is experienced as normal and natural, since racist practices are so deeply rooted in the current social order. Essed's study begins to unlock the many reasons behind continued segregation, but further investigations into these everyday, micro aspects of 'race' will help broaden our understand of the mechanisms fuelling ongoing racial divisions.

Directly after the end of the segregation period in the USA, some research assumed this micro-ecological position. Following the civil rights movement, Davis, Seibert and Breed (1966) used the New Orleans public busses in an analysis of racial integration. Legislation in the United States until 1958 enforced segregation on public busses. It was illegal for Black passengers to sit in front of the bus, or in front of any White passengers. The aim of their study, six years after the removal of formal segregation regulations, was to assess the degree to which racial seating patterns had changed. Davis et al. used maps to track patterns of seating arrangements on 87 bus routes. Analysis of the data captured from the maps revealed that passengers mostly assumed the same seating patterns. Even with the removal of segregation legislation, integration on the busses was therefore minimal.

In an interesting and complex assessment, Parker (1968) used observational methods to access patterns of racial integration in the Chicago First Baptist Church. The church has historically had

conflicting practices in terms of racial segregation - professing “brother-hood”, while having racially exclusive congregations. Informal segregation patterns at the church therefore presented as an attractive site for research. Parker observed racial interactions in two dimensions: the number of informal interactions (conversations) and the formal seating arrangements. Integration appeared to be most successful during inter-group interactions and conversations, with the congregation well integrated. However, the dynamic shifted quite considerably in observation of the chosen seating arrangements. Black and White members mostly clustered in separate and different areas of the church, maintaining racial distance. Informal segregation therefore again surfaced as a dominant characteristic among the congregation, demonstrating the subtle process of re-segregation. Similarly, this process of re-segregation was further exemplified in a study by Schofield and Sagar (1977) in conducting a year-long study on integration in multi-racial schools. Looking for patterns of contact in seating arrangements in cafeterias, the study aimed to assess the degree of integration among students. A complex statistical analysis compared the racial distribution of seating arrangements of two kinds: face-to-face seating and side-by-side seating. Schofield and Sagar integrated gender as an additional contribution. Results indicated that racial and gender integration was scarce, but seating preference did vary among different age groups. The students simply re-segregated themselves without institutional or legislative influence.

Using an innovative design, Kaplan and Fugate’s (1972) comparative study on racial contact and avoidance in American supermarkets introduced more subtle methods of informal segregation. The study documented the degree and variety of racial integration in supermarkets in two American cities: Cincinnati and Richmond. Kaplan and Fugate looked at racial interactions at different levels, for example in accepting free food samples, or patterns of racial grouping in shopping lines. Results indicated that there was a significant degree of racial avoidance. Consumers displayed high levels of racial preference, for example, in shopping lines specifically it appeared as though both Black and White customers used one queue, but closer observations indicated that customers avoided standing directly behind a person of another ‘race’ group. Patterns presented similarly in both cities, with the White customers showing a higher degree of racial preference in Richmond.

The above studies demonstrate the effectiveness of observational studies embracing a micro-ecological focus, and clearly documented the subtle methods of re-segregation. The question of why inter-racial division is continually reproduced however remains unanswered. Goldberg (1998) describes this adaptation of racist practices as the ‘daily experience of race’. Goldberg concludes that since the 1960s in the United States segregation has taken a new shape. Taking into account political, economic and social macro considerations, he tracks patterns of Black migration into urban centres from 1880s until after the 1960s, showing how segregation manifests itself in different ways. The old segregation involved the formation of large African-American urban ghettos. Following the civil rights movement, state regulations on segregation fell away, however informal, neighbourhood segregation was strengthened. Blacks and Whites still work, live, school and socialise in different areas. Four distinct characteristics of the described ‘new segregation’ are outlined by Goldberg. Segregation is firstly considered to be natural or the norm. White standards are used to define the norm and thus set the social standard. White people are considered as the real victims of anti-racist discourses, for example, in the use of political correct terms or affirmative action. Lastly, those persons or institutions in authority taking the lead in desegregation action are not aware of the real-life experiences and situations of the ordinary person. This description of the ‘new segregation’ in the American situation can easily be compared to that of South Africa. Future studies will need to access changing patterns of segregation in urban areas to identify new trends. Informal segregation, as described by Goldberg, can be considered as everyday or chosen racial division, not only residentially but in schools, work and social areas. In consequence of changing institutional and political processes in South Africa, some local research has begun to explore this apparent new segregation.

In South Africa, segregation research shifted in recent years, placing more emphasis on exploring the underlying mechanisms behind prejudice and specifically focusing on informal segregation. The pioneering beach studies of Durrheim and Dixon (2004, 2005b) established informal segregation as a dominant pattern in South Africa’s changing segregation dynamic. Durrheim and Dixon explored the spatial patterns of racial contact at Scottburgh holiday resort in Kwazulu-Natal. Using photographic observational techniques, they documented integration patterns at the beach. The previous ‘Whites only beach’, now permitted Black, Indian, Coloured

and White holiday goers. Although all 'race' groups appeared to use the beach, umbrella groups of Black, White, Indian and Coloured people were found. Real interracial contact between groups was in fact scarce. Informal segregation persisted and manifested itself in more discreet, 'bodily' divisions, again embodying the process of preferred segregation. During peak holiday times, like New Years, the pattern appears to change. Large numbers of Black beach goers arrive at the beach in taxis. Consequently the White population swiftly remove themselves from the area. The phenomenon is described as "foreign invasion" and "racial migration".

Durrheim and Dixon (2004, 2005b) not only demonstrated informal segregation at the Scottburgh beach, but use a discursive approach to begin to uncover why beachgoers reproduced racial segregation boundaries. In conducting interviews with both Black and White beachgoers, a more in-depth understanding of this process was uncovered. The Durban beach studies demonstrate how various meanings of 'contact' may surface from body-space-time configurations. The Whites typically regarded the presence of Black people as an 'invasion' of their space, choosing then to leave the area. The Black people, in contrast, embraced this opportunity for contact, and were confused as to why the White people were "running away". This study emphasises the need to place more attention on everyday, more ordinary interactions, usually neglected in social psychological investigations. Again, it is important to consider that most micro-processes of segregation are a direct result of wider political or cultural happenings. One must recognise that micro-ecological processes are not entirely detached from macro-processes (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005; Foster, 2005). This current study uses a naturalistic, case-study approach to target these neglected research aspects, investigating the daily experience of 'race' and integration. There is also a need to further utilise a similar discursive approach to segregation research, working to unlock the essential motivations and reasons behind this lack of intergroup contact and continued prejudice.

Also considering how attitudes can be affected by interracial contact, some studies have shown the contact hypothesis to be successful in changing previous beliefs. Holtman, Louw, Tredoux and Carney (2005) investigated the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice attitudes in previously segregated schools. 1 119 students - Black, Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites - were used in a survey to document attitude changes in previously

segregated schools in Cape Town, South Africa. Three measures were utilised, specifically; intergroup prejudice, a self-report inventory and a racial identity scale. Results confirmed that racial attitudes had improved with increased contact both in and outside schools. The study did however show that there was a far greater identification with the students' own 'race' groups, which did lead to less positive experiences of integration. Even so, Holtman et al. confirmed that intergroup contact was the most important factor in establishing positive attitude change. On the other hand, the quality of such contact is again questioned. It is incorrect to assume that contact in such naturalistic situations will necessarily change prejudice attitudes, it may only play out on a surface level. Studies need to access the quality of such contact.

Desegregation of schools, as micro-ecological sites of research, can be an appealing area for 'race' relation research. Dolby (2001) conducted an ethnographic study on the lived experience of desegregation at Fernwood School in Durban. Using both the students and teachers as participants, she explores aspects of racial construction in the context of the desegregation at the school. The study further examines the effect of globalisation and western identity on new racial constructions. The teachers experience the transition as a 'culture shock', usually 'being in survival mode' while at school. Discursive constructions revealed a high degree of hostility that erupts with continued racial contact. The desegregation process at Fernwood is described as tense and conflict-ridden, with a picture of superficial contact among the students. 'Race' is still found to be the main factor that defines categorisation of identity for the students. The idea of place identity and entitlement also emerges, with the school considered to be a White space, 'their school' and the Black students marginalised as outsiders. Dolby discusses how the Indian student population is mostly in the background picture, taking on a subordinate identity at the school. Her analysis also made use of specific individual case-studies from the students at Fernwood. Her interview with one of the few Indian female students revealed that the student was absorbed in trying to prove her self-worth and justify her Indian identity. The student describes having to 'mix and blend' with all the races, but mostly mimics White mannerisms and habits. The case-study revealed that since Indian students are not classified as either Black or White, it is easier for them to cross both borders and more easily make inter-racial friendships. Dolby's study concludes by advocating the need for a more naturalistic, ethnographic approach

in understanding the complexities of desegregation in South Africa. This case-study of the Akasia community similarly adopts a fieldwork approach, and comparably to Dolby's study, explores the motivations behind re-segregation and minority identity positioning.

Bodies, Space and Discourse

Dixon, Tredoux and Clack's (2005) review both geographic and psychological literature on the contact hypothesis concludes that more research is needed on the "how", "when" and "why" questions regarding continued racial isolation. The authors maintain that inter-racial contact in the new South Africa may be occurring on a surface level, but contact in more intimate spaces is still avoided. It is argued that racialised boundaries are maintained by continued racial categorisation and racial attitudes, regulating the intimacy of intergroup contact. The review emphasises a need for future research to consider new methods in understanding this continued racial separation, within the framework of the micro-ecology of contact. One may conclude that the micro-ecology of segregation has remained a neglected dimension of research and that the greatest shortcoming of the contact hypothesis is its disregard of spatial dimensions (Dixon, 2001; Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005). There remains a need to explore the lived experience of segregation in terms of bodily 'positioning', as Foster (2005) explains:

Various kinds of spaces either enable or constrain particular action. Places have specific meanings for people; they resonate with symbolic and emotional significance. We all carry with us various senses of 'place identity' (p.498).

Discourse is not the only means to uncover meanings behind continued segregation. Integrating bodies, discourse and space into a combined analytical framework will result in a more holistic understanding. In emphasising the importance of the spatial aspect of segregation, Van Ommen and Painter (2005) use sketch maps of South African cities to demonstrate personal significance to place. A sketch map is seen as a representation of a place by a person, commonly illustrating personal meaning, by physically sketching a map of a certain area. In this study students from the University of East London were asked to draw sketch maps of East London characterising their lived space. Similarities and differences in the maps were then compiled demonstrating that Apartheid ideologies continue to be filtered down into graphic representations. The sketches showed how ideologies can be embed in spatial representations, for example, previously White

or more tourist destinations are given spatial preference. The study concluded that personal identities are characterised by place-identity; students appeared to locate themselves in the drawn spaces. It was suggested that internalising the ideals of Apartheid had resulted in shaping their personal identities and now continue to infiltrate into their spatial perceptions of the town.

The continued patterns of informal segregation, persistent with bodily separation, have been further established by two more recent studies among university students, which have proved to be some of the few studies conducted in natural settings. In responding to the need for more real-life studies on inter-group contact, Schrieff et al. (2005) conducted an observational analysis on segregation patterns among students at the University of Cape Town in residence dinning-halls. The quality of inter-group contact was questioned. Using a sketch of the residence dinning-hall, seating arrangements chosen by the students were documented during dinner times for a period of one month. Clear informal segregation was demonstrated in these seating arrangements. Although all students used one common dinning-hall, the tables were divided into separate Black, White, Indian and Coloured spaces. Interestingly, there was consistency in the chosen spaces, so students consistently sat at exactly the same table with similar friends from similar racial groupings. The observations of Schrieff et al. (2005) on spatial patterns of racial segregation in university dinning-halls, exemplifies the subtle processes functioning to help regulate contact.

Similarly shifting research focus to more naturalistic settings, Tredoux et al. (2005) utilise a new method of observational study to establish the importance of spatiality in contact research. Jameson steps, positioned at the centre of the University of Cape Town where large numbers of university students congregate, was used as the naturalistic setting. Digital photographs at specific time intervals were taken of the steps, identifying the different clusters of students. In questioning the inevitability of social groups, students appeared to group themselves mostly according to 'race', namely; Black, White, Coloured and Asian. In time intervals when the Jameson steps were not crowded it was easy to identify pockets of these racialised groups sitting in separate 'zones' or levels of the steps. However, at certain peak times, like during lunch break, the area was highly congested. At first glance it appears that students were diversified in their spatial arrangement as a result. Using time-lag digital photography technologies, the study

revealed mixing of 'race' groups only in forced-space-limited situations. In closer observation of the photographs, pockets of 'race' groups could again be identified. Racial divisions again became more clearly observable on the steps when the crowds dispersed. Groups proceeded to voluntarily re-segregate themselves after peak times, when there was more space available on the steps. These findings suggest that persistent racialised groups associate with bodily and spatial arrangements to create different comfort-zone places.

It is no longer a question as to whether informal segregation continues to undermine reconciliation efforts in South Africa. Multiple studies have demonstrated the persistence of patterns of informal segregation. The underlying reasons and meanings behind this assumed 'new segregation' however are yet to be uncovered. Finchilescu (2005) proposes that meta-stereotypes may offer a medium for understanding this continued segregation. The recent emergence of research on how informal segregation has infiltrated into the post-Apartheid South African environment, has left the question as to why people maintain racialised boundaries in the absence of legal constraints. The author outlines common arguments that maintain that it is normal and inevitable for people to prefer to associate with those most similar to them; racial and ethnic similarity being most prevalent. *Homophily* is identified as the principle where contact between similar people will be more frequent than those dissimilar. In contrast, Finchilescu uses Brown's (1995) work on prejudice and categorisation to argue that group perception and social categorisation have been proven to be more important than group similarity in preventing inter-group contact. In considering barriers to inter-group contact she suggests that meta-stereotypes are an important factor in determining inter-group attitudes and subsequent contact. People's behaviour is strongly affected by other people's perceptions. Meta-stereotypes are formed in response. This experience of being judged or stereotyped may produce anxiety in contact situations. The author uses Stephan and Stephan's 1985 model to explain the consequences of intergroup anxiety on contact. Two processes are explained as to how meta-stereotypes prevent intergroup contact and facilitate inter-group anxiety. Firstly, individual characteristics are mostly forgotten by persons simply being grouped into one large category. Secondly, negative traits associated with this category are therefore reflected on the individual's behaviour instead, and therefore effecting their self concept and self-esteem. Intergroup anxiety therefore increases

in the anticipation of contact with the apparent out-group and leads to avoidance or limited contact or inter-group hostility. This process causes us to withdraw to our 'comfort areas' and ultimately hinders inter-racial contact. Finchilescu's study offers one of the few theories that propose to explain this preference for intergroup avoidance or segregation.

The Schreiff et al. (2005) study additionally proposed some insight into the reasons behind informal segregation. It is argued that people are more comfortable in certain places, similar to the idea of 'knowing one's place'. Spatiality is therefore intertwined with relations of power that hold these 'positionings' in place. In their study it seemed as though White students took preference over the dinning-hall tables. White males in particular appeared to dominate the tables at the dinning-hall. In a sense, 'shared' campus space may actually be 'owned' by White males, while others regulate their space in direct accordance to this claim. Therefore in an urban context, for example, the spatial movement of certain groups may be limited due to this White spatial dominance, and so preventing inter-group contact. Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005) describe how Festinger, Schachter and Black's (1959) classic work on social pressures in informal groups, uncovers spatial factors that function to facilitate group formation, while neglecting to acknowledge their role in shaping inter-group meanings and perceptions. This area of positioning in 'bodily space' (Foster, 1997) remains a neglected subject of research. Further exploration into the meaning and reasoning behind continued racial categorisation is needed.

Richard Ballard's (2004) work explores this camouflaged segregation and racist thinking in Black squatter communities in relation to White suburban Durban communities. Ballard examines hostilities between Black and White residents in response to the establishment of informal settlements in previously White affluent areas. Using both interview and newspaper reports, he explores the concept of White space in relation to westernised, White self-perceptions. Informal settlements are considered as an invasion into White and private spaces, provoking an almost militant response. Integrating concepts of place and identity, he examines the multiple paradigms of the many perceived 'threats' to the establishment of informal settlements, such as threats of: crime and safety, health and hygiene, morality and privacy. Ballard concludes by a combined analysis of identity, place and material interests, maintaining that there are very real material or financial threats involved. Here, it becomes difficult to

separate micro from such micro-aspects of segregation. This study suggests that both objective and subjective realities impact the perception and attitude towards the establishment of informal settlements and possibly residential integration in general.

Durrheim (2005), using descriptive and discursive methods, illustrated the importance of historical occurrences of racialised spatial division. Durrheim offers a historical and spatial framework to understand our present post-Apartheid situation. He considers how racial attitudes in the new South Africa have succumbed to past racial hierarchies and prejudices, possibility even facilitating continued superiority and inferiority complexes. The author attempts to explain why the phenomenon of ‘foreign invasion’ continues in the new South African climate. His analysis considers how racial movements between Blacks and Whites have changed historically. It is described how desegregation in South Africa at present is characterised by Black people moving into White spaces. It is not the case that White South Africans are now moving into Black townships. As a response, the White population has a tendency to ‘migrate’ into other areas. American sociological literature, it is explained, have labelled this phenomenon as *White flight*. In arguing that racial attitudes are embedded in spatio-temporal practices of inter-group relations, Durrheim uses two methods of analysis. Firstly he explores continued patterns of racial influx and racial migration in view of four historical situations: the Cape Colony; the invasion of the Whites into Black space during the frontier; Apartheid segregation and the present post-Apartheid environment. Secondly, he uses interviews from the Scottburgh beach studies as a case-study for current trends. Durrheim recommends that a creation of new spaces may help prevent this pattern from recurring. Durrheim’s study also illustrates the effectiveness of combining a discursive and spatial framework to enrich our understanding of the multifaceted aspects of ‘race’ relations within the new South African climate. The idea is replicated in Christopher’s (2001b) observations of how the post-Apartheid city almost mirrors that of the ‘old’ Apartheid city. Further research using this socio-spatial framework is thus needed to uncover the informal mechanisms that sustain persistent segregation. As Foster (2005) describes:

The spatial distribution of housing and communities in cities and towns, remains relatively unchanged...from this perspective it would appear that racialized isolation and separation is being reproduced (p.495).

Methodological Shift: Racial Discourse and the Lived Experience of Segregation

While working towards an explanation of racial isolation in everyday situations, several authors have argued in favour of methodological improvement (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a, 2005b; Foster, 2005; Schrieff et al., 2005; Tredoux et al., 2005). For example, Tredoux et al. (2005) introduced the use of new methods to enhance observational research of informal segregation, drawing on new computer and photographic technologies. Although these innovative approaches to data collection, developed in response to the assumed 'spatial turn' in segregation research, are significant, the need for a 'linguistic turn' is of equal importance. A range of methods, inclusive of discourse, narrative, conversational and rhetorical analyses, as well as archival studies are needed, if new research is to engage in producing a greater sense of meaning (Foster, 2005). As Foster (1997, 2000) describes, space embodies both material and discursive elements; specifically, boundaries of segregation can be as much physical as they are symbolic. Therefore these spatialised conceptions of identity, in terms of race, go further than geographical positioning, and must be explored using discursive practices. Integration of spatial, bodily and discursive constructions of 'race' is needed in current investigations of desegregation in South Africa.

Durrheim and Dixon's (2005a, 2005b) influential beach studies demonstrate the importance of using linguistic techniques in constructing the realities of contact and desegregation. Illustrating that language constructs laws and signs that inform and create these boundaries, and hence discursive methods must be utilised to enrich our understanding and limit the consequences of these mechanisms (Foster, 2000). A discursive approach used in Durrheim and Dixon's beach studies allowed the authors to explore why racial boundaries are maintained. Only through a discursive analysis were the fear and apprehensions of the White beach goes uncovered. White participants expressed their grief at the apparent ruin of their holiday destination. The interviews described how the beach was previously a serene holiday getaway from busy urban centers, but now ruined by the invasion of loud and unruly African people. The studies clearly demonstrated that by listening to the voices of the participants, hidden meanings behind re-segregation may become more apparent. Traditional empirical studies restrict knowledge of the lived experience. Research must evolve its methods to gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of these

internal workings, by listening to the voices of individuals and groups (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a). However, the discursive methodological approach remains neglected. Future research should therefore aim to fully exploit this method, embracing the value of the lived experience.

A. J. Christopher's (2001a) *Atlas of a Changing South Africa* presents a visual account of the separation enforced upon South Africa. The deconstruction of Apartheid's spatial divisions, both in wider institutional separations and the more 'personal' Apartheid, is an on-going process. Apartheid's segregation policies not only affected the larger segregation patterns in urban centers, but invaded our private spaces. We are reminded of the structural architecture of Apartheid in South African cities and homes, with houses even divided into traditional servant and master corners, serving as a reminder of deeply rooted racial divisions in multiple strata of personal and societal life. Some may argue that the 'race question' in South Africa has been saturated. However, despite the magnitude of research, racial segregation remains persistent, assuming the structure of a 'new segregation', which is more voluntary and informal in its workings. This review has argued in favour of both a perspective and methodological shift. The present study will therefore operate within the framework of the micro-ecology of contact, arguing that race relations are shaped by both bodily practices and in language. Informal segregation may indeed be the dominant pattern in intergroup contact in the new South Africa, but it remains unclear why racial divisions persist.

Rethinking Psychological Focus: South African Indians as Minorities

As argued in the preceding chapter, Black-White dimensions of prejudice have dominated most traditional research. South African minorities have not received much attention in segregation studies. The South African Indian community remains as a marginalised voice. It can be further argued that the South African Indians can be regarded as a minority community. As mentioned previously, differentiation between ethnic and racial identity is a complex and contested distinction (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). For the purpose of this study, ethnic and racial identity will be kept as synonymous. Similarly, no distinction will be made between ethnic and racial minorities; therefore the Indian community can qualify as an ethnic or racial minority in South Africa. It is beyond the scope of this study to review all minority theory and research, the magnitude of varying minority groups makes it difficult to present a comprehensive assessment.

However, the main concern of this study is to create a space for the Indian minority of South Africa to voice their position among shifting segregation dynamics in the post-Apartheid climate.

Firstly, one must underscore a few key questions: What is understood as a minority? How do South Africans Indians classify as a minority? The most basic definition of a minority is based on a numerical assessment. When a group constitutes less than half the population they are regarded as a minority (Banton, 1972). The Indian community is a clear numerical minority, having a population of only 1 115 467 compared to the total population of South Africa, 44 819 778. In the Mokopane community specifically, there are only 771 Indians, with numbers varying depending on the immigrant population, in comparison to the 18 623 other residents of Mokopane (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Hutnik's (1991) examination of ethnic/racial minority identity analyses the qualities that characterise minority groups. Here, he identifies five criteria which describe the fundamentals of minority group identity. He suggests that minorities: are subordinate groups; have particular physical or cultural traits not valued by the dominant societal groups; are held together by special traits and practices; share a cultural heritage and have a tendency to marry within the group. The South Africa Indian community, especially the community in Mokopane, runs in close comparison to the criteria mentioned and so is not only a numerical minority. The Indian community, as described by Jithoo (1985, July) and Kuppusami (1983) are bonded by certain characteristics. The assumed cultural Indianness and Indian heritage can be considered as the binding force that unites minority groups as identified by Huntik. Religious beliefs (in this case-study, Islam) are additional similar practices and traditions creating a strong commonality among the minority. Although not a cultural heritage, suppression by the Apartheid government may act as a historical heritage shared by the Indian community, further strengthening group solidarity. As an additional comparison to Hutnik's criteria, Kuppusami's analysis on Indian cultural practices describes how Indians mostly marry from within the community. The South African Indian community therefore can be considered as both a numerical minority and an ethnic/racial minority, as defined by Huntik's criteria. In view of the above, this study will consider the South African Indian community as a racial or ethnic minority group.

In a rigorous reassessment on minority concerns, Cuthbertson and Leibowitz (1993) use multiple case-studies on European minority groups to tackle definitions, policy and conflict concerns. In their book, Cuthbertson and Leibowitz consider national minorities in terms of minority rights and violent upheavals. As in defining ‘race’ or ethnicity, defining a minority may also be contentious. The authors draw on the United Nations definition of minorities in the 1985 meeting of Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities:

A group of citizens of a State, constituting a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position of State, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of population, having a sense of solidarity with one another (p.22).

Their analysis uses three perspectives in examining minorities: through the rights of the individual persons (ethnic/racial, national or linguistic); rights of the individual in the community and group rights of the minority. Furthermore, national policies of minorities are considered using four theoretical concepts: pluralism, integration, assimilation and segregation. Pluralism has the goal of preserving the identity of the minority, by establishing their own administrative structure and degree of freedom, like the Homeland policy to some extent. The process which aims to unify different groups, while maintaining aspects of their own culture, is called integration. Assimilation involves minority groups abandoning their own culture, traditions and language for that of the majority group, and segregation aims to keep groups separate and maintain the minority’s subordinate position, like during Apartheid. The question remains how the Indian minority now chooses to assert their minority positioning, though integration or assimilation, for example. Cuthbertson and Leibowitz (1993) study focuses on the protection of minority rights and prevention of consequent conflicts through a case-study analysis. In examining the ‘Jewish question’ or the Albanians in Macedonia, they propose an international solution, by establishing international interventions and policies for minority right protection.

Hutnik (1991) draws on social psychological theory to present a framework for understanding ethnic minority identity. After questioning conceptual differences between ‘race’ and ethnicity, Hutnik’s analysis uses multiple social psychological theories on identity, for example Erikson and Tajfel’s theories, to present a broad framework for understanding ethnic minority identity.

Anchored in this theoretical framework, Hutnik presents a comprehensive review of data on ethnic minority identity compiled since the 1930s, where he questions how ethnic minorities think or feel about themselves in relation to majority groups. His review uncovered two dominant trends: the tendency for ethnic groups to identify better with their “own” group and a decrease in the trend of low self-esteem among minority group children, showing limited preference to the majority. Hutnik draws on five studies to compare the salience, centrality and valence of ethnic identity. The review indicated that intra-group comparisons are not as relevant as inter-group comparisons, with ethnicity not typically a defining aspect of minority group self-concept. Contrary to contemporary social psychological theory there seems to be little empirical evidence to support a lower self-esteem and self-hatred associated with ethnic minority identity. Hutnik then moves to review six studies on patterns of cultural adaptation of ethnic minority groups, comparing constructions of their own minority identity in relation to the majority group. Results suggested that minority perceptions are under constant demand to adapt to majority culture, for example western values are frequently assimilated into ethnic minority culture in terms of language and clothing.

In his last review Hutnik (1991) assesses a series of studies on self-categorisation and stereotyping, both having the most extensive influence in reproducing discrimination against minority groups. Classification and stereotyping tend to not only force labels on minority groups, but affirm their difference in comparison to the majority, and so reducing tolerance of ethnic differences. As an exception in most studies, mixed race children often blur the line, preventing easy classification or stereotyping and often causing opposition to the status quo. Continued racial classification appears to be the greatest barrier in the integration of ethnic minority groups, serving to reinforce labels and bigoted ideas. Hutnik’s final conclusion rests on advocating a new perspective on ethnic minority identity, urging further research to question contemporary social psychological theory and build a new model for understanding ethnic minority influence and construction. In terms of the South African Indian minority, future research should explore the construction of minority identity among the turbulence of transformation efforts, questioning consequences of similar exposure to marginalisation and classification.

Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) sociological study used six case-studies to analyse identity construction of various ethnic minority groups. The authors argue that minorities are often racialised as the 'other' and consequently becoming subordinate groups in society. Their study advocates the intersection between the micro and macro aspects of identity construction, but maintains that micro aspects have remained neglected in contemporary research. In their comparative analysis of African-Americans and Native American minorities in the United States, the authors consider the different historical and political context of these oppressed minorities. Through a historical analysis the authors question how both groups have managed to assert their minority identity. The African-American population in the United States first came to the USA as slaves. Here, a small comparison can be drawn with the South African Indians forced relocation to South Africa on the bases of indenture labour. The historical power domination during the slave trade resulted in a loss of control of the African over their bodies, lives and future. The analysis describes how Black bodies were reduced to objects for trade, grouped under a broad category of Black, ignoring any ethnic differences. The construction of the new African-American community has materialised out of a combination of their own political, social, economic and cultural history. Cornell and Hartmann's study describes how the minority has slowly gained more recognition since the late 1950s, 1960s with the civil rights movement legally removing the racial caste system of the USA. The African-American minority, while many still live in the historical 'ghetto' areas, have integrated into previously White residential neighbourhoods. In comparison, multiple Native American 'tribes', being the original inhabitants of the Americas, were clustered into one category of Native or Indian and used for labour. In twentieth century America the Native Americans mostly live on 'Indian reservations', similar to tribal homelands in South Africa, in the pursuit of 'preservation of cultural practices'. The case study maintains that the Native American minority remains a subordinate identity in the USA.

In their case study on Chinese Americans, Cornell and Hartmann (2007) identify classification problems with immigrant minorities. The Chinese, for example, were neither White nor Black, but eventually were racialised as Black, with the same subordinate social status. But slowly the racial classification shifted as the Chinese minority changed their own behaviours and relationships to fit a 'White image'. Interestingly, it is explained how the community wanted to

share equal rights with the White majority, but retain their own distinct Chinese Identity. The authors conclude that identities are most affected by social change and classification systems. They also urge future studies need to examine the impact of modernity on globalising and westernising identities. Cornell and Hartmann's case-studies on the African-American, Native American and Chinese immigrant populations illustrate the vast differences in shifting minority identities. The three minority groups proved to adapt varying integration strategies or in the Native-American case, resisting integration. In light of the social transformation in South Africa, there is a need to similarly analyse the South African Indian minority within a similar case-study approach, exploring shifting trends in identity construction and group preference.

Research on the South African Indian minority is however very limited. Most segregation research refrains from focusing specifically on the Indian minority. Radhakrishnan's (2005) study is one of the few that has begun to comment on the shifting meanings of Indianness in South African society. The study focuses on Indian women in particular, outlining the changes in cultural and national identities, while attempting to voice a marginalised identity. The new South African climate, it is argued, still neglects the value of the minority community, facing the well-known notion of "not being white enough" and now "not black enough". Radhakrishnan conducted a series of interviews with Indian women in Kwazulu-Natal, belonging to various social-economic backgrounds and mostly Hindu. The women in the study expressed a need to maintain their Indian culture and display it as a method of voicing their Indian identity. Radhakrishnan makes use of three specific case studies from the women interviewed to demonstrate vast differences in expression of their Indian and South African identity. Although she found greater preference for a South African identity, most Indian women still asserted their cultural identity to varying degrees. The participants expressed their frustrations in the new South African, finding it hard to find a place among White and Black dominating discourses. Meanings of 'Indianness' seem to constantly shift in order to accommodate for a changing political and social climate. The conflicting position of the South African Indian is aptly described in an editorial in Durban's *Daily News*, titled *Why Can't I Just Be South African?* Radhakrishnan cites Vasantha Angamuthu January 2000 article:

I am an Indian... not by choice... I am an Indian only because some people have decided that this is what I am. They have stamped this identity on my forehead with an uncaring, thoughtless, self-preserving assumption of authority and superiority.

A need for future studies on the influence and group dynamics of the minority is additionally made. Radhakrishnan's (2005) study however, similar to most work published on the South African Indians, uses a sample from KwaZulu-Natal, few studies have chosen to focus on the old Transvaal area for example. This current study attempts to explore Indian minority identity and segregation positioning using the Indian Muslim population, an even further specific minority group. Current research has scarcely accessed this specific population group or used the old Transvaal area as a site of investigation. This study therefore aims to broaden our understanding of these interwoven minority questions in the context of re-segregation patterns in Mokopane.

This Study in Context: Significance and Relevance of the Research

It can be argued that through socialisation processes (Edwards & Potter, 1992), South Africans have internalised the social values of Apartheid. Hobsbawm (1983) maintains that in Africa, there is no 'pure' culture left, since people were forced to succumb to the rule of the colonial empire. Therefore, this research questions whether South Africa is now left with a body of paradoxical ideologies and cultural constructions. This study aims to explore how everyday processes and interactions maintain and regulate new racialised boundaries within the Indian minority, working under the general hypothesis of a continued pattern of informal segregation.

Although questions of racial and spatial integration are of much international interest, this study falls under particular relevance to the South African effort for social transformation. This research aims to construct a more meaningful understanding behind this process of transformation. As very little research has focused on internal segregation patterns or 'race' relations of the South African Indian minority, this research will begin to enhance our understanding of the complexities manifest in internal segregation patterns and inter-group prejudice. An enhanced understanding on the dynamics of racial prejudice and segregation therefore falls beyond a purely academic influence, but can rather impact the wider national struggle for racial integration and transformation. Research on the lived experience of

segregation is limited. We still do not understand why people maintain racialised boundaries and minority positioning. Questions of 'race' and minority identity are central to this study. To investigate these social psychological questions this study explores the lived experience of the South African Indian minority, through a body, space, and discourse paradigm.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 3: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study ultimately demonstrates the need for a spatial-discursive orientation, and a more embodied turn in our construction of segregation. Traditional empirical studies restrict knowledge of the lived experience of segregation. It is argued that research must evolve its methods to gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of these internal workings, by listening to the voices of individuals and groups (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a). Drawing on a hybrid methodological approach, this study uses space, bodies and talk in its approach. Working within this spatial-linguistic framework, the design falls within an in-depth case study approach. Research was therefore confined to the town of Mokopane and specifically the Akasia, Indian minority community. Working within the boundaries of a small community allowed for the exploration of minority influence and segregation patterns within a micro-ecological setting. Case-studies are not necessarily considered as a methodological approach but rather a subject choice (Stake, 2009). Case-study research typically draws on mixed methods and engages in fieldwork investigations to draw attention to what can be understood from a single case. The aim of case-study investigations is not to make wide generalisations, but rather to enhance our understanding of the single case in terms of the question at hand. The aim of this current study is therefore not to make wide generalisations considering segregation patterns and identity construction of the South African Indian minority group, but rather to broaden our understanding by using the single case of the Akasia Indian minority.

Data Collection and Procedure

Ground work was completed in 2008, with a pilot study conducted involving a more broad-based analysis of general 'race' relations and continued divisions in the town. The study proved successful in providing deeper contextual placement and in reassuming previous connections. Interviews were conducted during the June/July period in 2008, using a sample from Black, White and Indian residents of Mokopane. As explained in the introductory chapter, continued patterns of informal segregation surfaced, both in participants' discursive constructions and spatial analysis. Informal segregation in the town was seen as acting as a regulator for hostile and

hidden racism. Segregation was not only found within old Apartheid divisions but at various levels as well. Internal divisions lingered within the Black, White and Indian communities. The internal workings of the Indian community, as a minority in the town, presented as a unique opportunity to investigate the position of minority groups within the segregation dynamic. Initial interviews during the pilot study revealed a complex interplay between South African Indian identity and racialised boundaries in the town. It was also very difficult to gain access to the Indian community; Indian residents seemed to be clustered in very specific parts of Mokopane. It appeared that the Indian community assumed the identity of the 'other' in the town, with a separate and misunderstood religion and culture.

Following the results and insights gained in the pilot study, the South African Indian minority of Mokopane developed as the primary focus of the research in question. The analysis presented here is based on interviews conducted with multiple residents of the Indian community of Mokopane, Akasia, over a three week period, from the 29th June to 17th July 2009. In order to facilitate greater access and understanding of the community, I lived in the town for the duration of the study. Although, staying at a private residence outside the Akasia area itself, most days were spent engaging in the activities of the community. Being personally acquainted with one of the prominent families in the town and connections made during the initial study helped foster relations. Invitations to social gatherings and different meals acted as a supplementary means to better acquaint myself with the inner dynamics of the community.

The primary source of data collection was open-ended interviews. A more structured interview may have limited the flow and freedom of the participants, while opened-ended interviews, as argued by Wetherell and Potter (1992), offer a powerful approach in eliciting personal experience. The flexibility of the open-ended interview acts as a facilitator for innovation and discovery in research (Parker, 2005). However, an interview schedule was used as a rough guide (see Appendix A). Interviews therefore began with very broad, open-ended questions, such as, 'Tell me about 'race' relations in the town' Or 'Tell me about the Akasia community'. However, in certain interviews a more direct approach was more effective, therefore harnessing an almost semi-structured interview approach, using the interview schedule more rigidly. All interviews were conducted in English.

The length of the interview varied considerably, ranging from fifteen minutes to one hour. It often depended on how interested or resistant the participants were. The interviews were mostly conducted on a one-to-one basis. Although focus groups were not formally used, certain interviews were conducted simultaneously with two to three participants. The interviewees were given preference as to the setting of the interviews, usually conducted in the participant's office or home. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Although spatial patterns were discussed within the context of the interview itself, contextual data was additionally collected to further spatial explorations. The municipality was contacted and an interview arranged with the senior communications officer, helping to gain further contextual data on the town and Akasia specifically. Several maps of the town were provided, and information shared regarding the growth and change in the physical layout of Mokopane. Basic observational analysis of the spatial patterns in the town and community was supplemented by photographs and written notes.

Sample

A total of 28 people participated in the study. This exploration did not strive to uncover universal, absolute truths and hence generalisability and representativity were not principal objectives. The overall sample represented a mixture of age, gender and social-economic groups, specifically, male (n=15) and female (n=12), therefore allowing for greater expression of the multiple realities of the Akasia community. An additional interview was conducted outside the Indian community, using an African, Muslim male. The interview was drawn on from data collected in the 2008 pilot study and offered further information relating specifically to the Indian minority community. Although all 28 interviews are used to map general trends in segregation patterns and identity conceptions, certain interviews were selectively drawn on to be used as specific case-study examples.

Working within an interpretive paradigm, participants were recruited through purposive or judgemental and snowball sampling. Formal interviews began on the 30th of June 2009. Having already established associations within the town, the Indian community proved to be very accessible. Certain institutions and persons in the town were first identified and contacted to

arrange interviews, specifically: principal of the ‘Indian’ Primary school, former Indian major, government officials, religious leaders and prominent business owners. Following these initial interviews, participants themselves guided or arranged further interviews. From the initial pilot study, it appeared as if the male community was very resistant to being interviewed by a young female researcher, possibly representative of traditional gender views. However, in this study there was very little resistance from the community, male or female; most persons approached were very open to the research process. In fact, there were more male participants.

As familiarity and friendships in the community became solidified, it became clear that they were very accepting of me as the researcher and the research process as a whole. Therefore, it gradually became very easy to gauge the dynamics of the community and initiate interviews with its diverse members, ranging from university students to more senior members of the community. Most interviewees offered further contacts and recommendations. Other methods used to gain access to interview participants were very arbitrary. For example, follow-ups would be made on stories heard concerning certain people, or I’d simply walk down the town’s business centre and approach Indian shop owners and introduce the study.

The Indian immigrant population in the community was very hard to access. Language was the most significant barrier. The use of translators was considered, but most persons approached were very suspicious of the research process and were hesitant to participate. Attempts were made, but the voice recorder in particular made participants suspicious of my ‘true intentions’. Many of the immigrants are residing in South Africa illegally. One may assume that their evident suspicions were due to their unsanctioned stay, possibly seeing me as someone associated with the government. The participant population therefore mostly comprised of the ‘local’ South African Indian population. Two interviews were however conducted with recent Indian and Pakistani immigrants.

Sample demographics⁷ are summarised in the table below. It was difficult to identify specifics regarding social-economic status, however, none of the participants came from an exceedingly

⁷ In the beginning of each interview, basic demographic questions were asked, specifically name, age and occupation. The participants were additionally asked if they preferred the use of a pseudonym.

low economic bracket, and most can be classified within the middle to high socio-economic range. All participants belonged to the Muslim religion. Participants have been given pseudonyms.

Table 1: Participant Summary

	Name	Age	Gender	Profession
1	Mona	38	F	Teacher/activist
2	Anisa	29	F	Entrepreneur
3	Parvin	65	F	House wife
4	Shanta	32	F	Secretary
5	Adiilah	34	F	Beautician
6	Nevadna	42	F	Accountant/house wife
7	Fatimah	45	F	Entrepreneur/Engineer
8	Sujata	23	F	Student
9	Neha	18	F	Student
10	Goli	38	F	Teacher
11	Nava	41	F	House wife
12	Jasmine	47	F	Teacher
13	Masroor	78	M	Doctor
14	Abraham	51	M	Government
15	Akbar	24	M	Accountant/house wife
16	Synjed	60	M	Entrepreneur
17	Mohamed	40	M	Entrepreneur
18	Yusif	28	M	Entrepreneur
19	Ashwin	60	M	School Principal
20	Salim	24	M	Entrepreneur
21	Misaig	46	M	Computer scientist/Entrepreneur
22	Rameez	27	M	Pakistani Entrepreneur
23	Vahid	30	M	Religious leader
24	Iraj	18	M	High school student
25	Ali	82	M	Entepeneur/former major
26	Navid	19	M	Student
27	Yashpal	19	M	Student

Additional Interview⁸

28	Kayvan	34	M	Working at mosque
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Data Analysis

A discursive psychological approach was employed, which included a critical discourse analysis, supplemented by a further rhetorical analysis. Discourse analysis operates within a specific ideological paradigm that deconstructs the function and consequences of language, unlocking the meanings and intensions embedded in the text (Wetherell, 1999). Responding to a call towards a methodological shift, discourse analysis is therefore particularly useful for understanding how racist explanations are constructed, maintained and even justified. However, here one should also observe that this methodological approach does not offer a fixed strategy, but rather a general set of guidelines for textual analysis (Parker, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Analysis concentrated on identifying contradictions and variations in the text, while associating them with wider patterns within multiple discourses. Particular emphasis was placed on use of descriptive language; metaphors in particular were singled out.

A combination of two approaches to discourse analysis was used. These included Potter and Wetherell's (1987, 1994) discursive strategy, emphasising the variability and function of discourse, as well as a Parkerian approach directed towards a critical orientation, which facilitated an examination of power, ideology and institutional influence. Parker's (1992, 2005) critical discourse analysis allows for an exploration that moves beyond the descriptive and towards a performative understanding of language. Furthermore, underlining the significance of argumentation in social life, this analysis will integrate Billig's (1987, 1991) rhetorical approach to social psychology. This focus on rhetoric and meaning of racial expressions, as argued by Durrheim and Dixon (2004), is therefore particularly useful in uncovering latent meanings and positions in discourse.

Although no formal analytic approach is utilised, spatial segregation patterns were further examined by mapping changes in the physical layout of the town. Using geographical studies

⁸ An additional interview, conducted in the 2008 pilot study was drawn on in the conclusion section to discuss future prospects for reconciliation.

(Donaldson & van der Merwe, 1999; Kotze & Donaldson, 1998) as a guide to explore physical spatial changes in Mokopane, integrated into a comparative analysis of both spatial and linguistic changes. Basic observational and descriptive methods were used to examine maps of Mokopane and photographic data.

Ethical Considerations

Parker's (1992, 2005) depiction of the 'crisis' in social psychology during the 1970s, arising out of a mechanistic model of the individual, emphasises the 'moral-political' nature of research. Ethics in psychological research is thus argued as a moral-political concern, with the qualitative method aiming to minimise the subjectification of the participant and rather engage in a more collaborative relationship. As a consequence, all participants were informed of the aims and purpose of the study. Participation being entirely voluntary, no formal incentives for involvement was used and informed consent was secured (see appendix B). The information gathered from the interviews, although recorded and transcribed, is fully confidential. All participants have been given pseudonyms as not to directly identify any individual, unless the participant has requested to be addressed by name.

Furthermore this study has not involved members from vulnerable populations, specifically persons under the age of eighteen. Participation was of very little risk to the participants, and all interviewees were provided with the opportunity to withdraw consent or stop participation at anytime if any discomfort was experienced. Mostly, participants appeared to benefit from the process, even sharing that they 'enjoyed speaking to me'. Interviews seemed to provide a means of expression, allowing them to share their lived experience. As one of the participants, Goli, noted:

It's actually really good to talk about this... there is so much to say... and we tend to keep it all in.

Participants did however express a keen interest in the study, requesting to preview the results. On completion of the formal write-up of the study, all the interviewees were re-contacted and a summary of the results e-mailed (most participants left a contact e-mail address on the consent form). Furthermore, arrangements will be made to begin a one-week follow-up process,

revisiting the town in July 2010 and personally sharing the results of the study with each participant or in a group meeting.

The Reflexive Researcher

It can be argued that participants' discursive constructions were persuaded by my own identity and positioning. Parker (2005) maintains that the relationship between the 'researcher' and the 'researched' is inherently unequal. Historically, the researcher holds a power position over the 'subject' of research, therefore locating oneself within institutional constraints helps counteract the power positioning. Locating myself within the discourses revealed the centrality of not only bodily perceptions to the participants, but also the effect of my American accent and association with the University of Cape Town.

Being of Iranian decent, my physical appearance closely resembles the broad spectrum of what is classified as Indian or Asian, and having lived in Canada for six years, my accent is mostly taken as being American. It is necessary to consider how bodily and cultural perceptions of me as a researcher effected the interview process. Seeing that the Akasia community is mostly Muslim, my religious identity was also central to the participant's opinion of me. Not being Muslim, but a member of the Baha'i Faith may have caused initial resistance. Although being an independent world religion, the Baha'i faith comes from Islam, in the same way that Christianity comes from Judaism, and also professes the oneness of religion. In this respect, I was not only familiar with Islamic texts, regulations and customs, but many of the laws and principals are comparable, like Obligatory prayer. Religion, therefore served as another commonality in many respects, rather than a cause of discomfort or divergence.

Later in chapter 5 my subjective experience of integration in the community will be used as a case-study to firstly understand how assuming an 'insider' role helped unlock more meaningful and less-guarded interviews and explore the actual process involving community perceptions and in-group facilitation.

CHAPTER 4: CONTINUED INFORMAL SEGREGATION

In my beginning is my end.
 In succession houses rise and fall,
 Crumble, are extended, are removed, destroyed,
 Restored or in their place is an open field, or a factory,
 Or a by-pass.
 The houses are all gone...
 Home is where one starts from.

(T. S. Eliot, *Four Quartets, East Coker*, 1969, pp. 177-183)

Analysis of the interplay between spatial and linguistic dynamics of racialised isolation expands the framework in which we understand ongoing segregation patterns (Christopher, 2001b; Durrheim, 2005). The following chapter will use the proposed socio-spatial framework to help uncover mechanisms of informal segregation, specifically exploring the positioning of the Indian minority. This analysis will explore how Indian identity is negotiated among wider institutional change, mapping the dialogue of the Akasia community that creates a story of the evolution of segregation in the new South Africa.

A basic spatial analysis will first be presented tracking physical changes in the structural layout of the town and Akasia area specifically. Basic observational analysis, using maps, photographs and information from fieldwork will guide the spatial investigation. The second section will move into a discursive orientation. Using narrative accounts from interviews of the Indian minority, the analysis is directed on discursive constructions of informal segregation. Discursive explorations will then naturally shift to a rhetorical analysis of the Indian communities' normalisation and justification of continued spatial isolation. The chapter will conclude by investigating meanings of 'Indianness' through the mediating relationship of place and identity and the assumed 'sandwiched' identity of the community.

Spatial illustration of continued informal segregation

In reference to the mass relocation of the Indian community in Durban, Freund (1995) maintains that the implication of the Group Areas Act moves beyond the physical reconstruction of such cities but also involves ideological transformation. The development of cultural, social and political consciousness was shaped by racially divided “group areas”, in which changes to persons’ physical environments simultaneously changed the outward reality of the Indian minority. With the abolition of the Group Areas, it has now been assumed that explorations into the ‘remapping of the Apartheid city’ may provide further insight into new patterns of segregation (Dixon, Tredoux & Clack, 2005).

Christopher’s (2001a, 2001b) studies have shown the effectiveness of using visual representations, like maps, to track changes in segregation patterns. Analysis of the physical changes in the structural layout of Mokopane may therefore provide a good base for beginning explorations into segregation patterns. The following will use basic maps of Mokopane and photographs⁹ of the town and Akasia area to provide a descriptive spatial analysis of the physical changes apparent. Tracking changes in the structural layout of the town, using maps, may offer some insight into the shifting social relations and segregation dynamic in the town and the Akasia community. Photographs offer a snap shot into the everyday lifestyle of the community. Basic observational analyses of photographs provide a glimpse into the inner workings of the Mokopane and Akasia community.

⁹ Many photographs were taken during the fieldwork period, with a few selected for specific analyses. Maps of the town were provided by the municipality. The post-Apartheid map is also a duplicate copy of the map given at the town’s information centre, compiled by the Chamber of Business, and was initially used to familiarise myself with Mokopane.

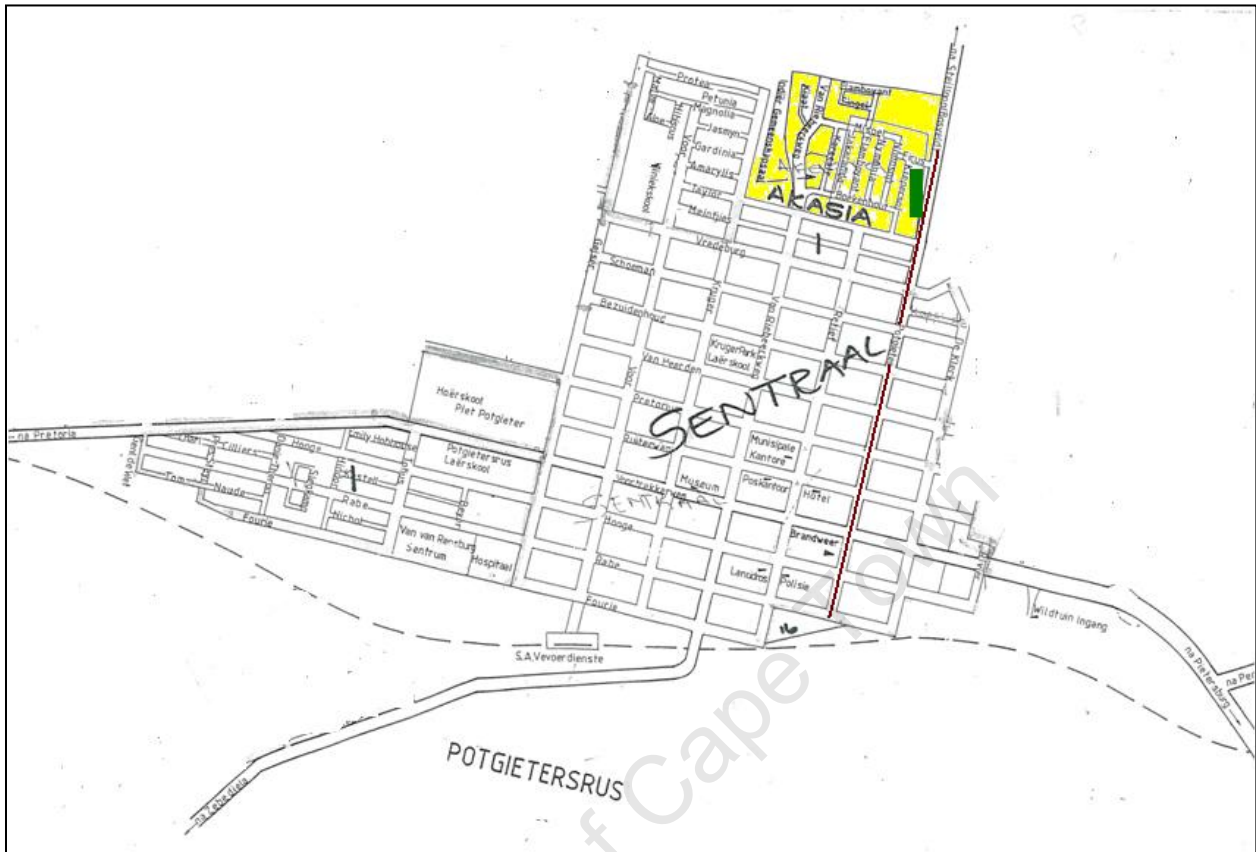


Figure 1: Map of Potgietersrus/Mokopane pre-1999

The Map above is a simplified presentation of the topographical layout of what was then known as Potgietersrus. As the towns 'memory album' (du Plooy, 1995) describes, historically Potgietersrus was primarily a farming town, with the structural layout of Potgietersrus mirroring this farming lifestyle. The central area therefore remained very small for the majority of the town's history. The area marked as 'Sentraal' represents both the residential and business center. Before the imposition of the Group Areas Act the White and Indian community resided in the central area, with the Black community living on the outskirts, mostly in surrounding villages. This communal living was mediated by the Indians providing trade services. The main businesses in town were clustered in Potgieter Street, renamed Nelson Mandela Street, marked in red on the map.

However, with the imposition of the Group Areas act in 1950, Potgieterus was tailored to fit the architectural design of the new ‘Apartheid city’. To promote the ‘separate development’ policy of the new Apartheid government, Potgieterus was declared a “White” area in 1963, and in 1969 the Akasia Township was established as a designated “Indian” area (Jithoo, 1985, July; Hassan, Cachalia and Mohamed, 2004). Interestingly, Potgieter Street runs directly to Akasia¹⁰ and the Mosque specifically, therefore limiting the movement of the Indian community to a very small section of the town, even somewhat detached from the more central White areas of Potgieterus.



Figure 2: The Mosque as a Symbol of Akasia

¹⁰ The name, Akasia is significant itself. The name appears to be an adaptation of the word *acacia*, meaning thorny tree, and converting it into the more Afrikaans appropriate, Akasia. The literal meaning, thorny tee, could however also have a figurative implication, comparing the Indian community to ‘thorns’ or a small irritation, resembling their presence as a minority or ‘other’ in the town. However, this may be too strong of an assumption, seeing that Akasia is fairly commonplace as a name in South Africa.

As displayed above, the symbol of the mosque almost epitomises the area of Akasia itself. The Akasia area seems to be considered as not only an ‘Indian’ area, but also a place for Muslims with the mosque appearing to be the dominant symbol of the community. Akasia may possibly be represented to the wider Mokopane community primarily as a place for not only Indians but Muslims. Here one can also question the salient identity of the community, being defined by either their Indian or Muslim attributes.

The larger township of Segsegapang was also established further north of Akasia. Maharaj (1995) comments on how these “Indian” townships seemed to act as a buffer between “White” and “Black” areas physically and perhaps symbolically. The Akasia area appears to serve the same purpose, being placed directly in between the “White” and “Black” districts of Potgieterus. This positioning of the Indian locality also serves as a spatial representation of the hierarchical categorisation of the Apartheid system, with Indians having marginally more privileges than Africans. The implementation of the Group Areas Act used buffer zones or natural barriers to limit interracial mingling. The Indian communities were historically placed in between the White and Black residential areas, but also usually close to the trade centres (Xaba, 2001). Running close to the stereotypical representation of the Indian as a businessman, many Indians in Mokopane were involved in the trade industry, currently holding a strong economic presence in the town¹¹. The Akasia neighbourhood interestingly is almost attached and runs directly to Potgieter Street, the business hub of the Mokopane. One can assume that this positioning of the Indian community was not arbitrary, but deliberate. The Indian “township” is relatively removed from the White neighbourhoods, but near enough to the business district to facilitate the needed trade services.

¹¹ Informal interviews with the Chamber of business revealed that Indian businesses carry much weight to the towns’ economic security. With the exception of the mine, Indian businesses generated the most amount of income and far surpassed most farms in the area as well. The Indian entrepreneurs are also well respected in Mokopane, but have had a controversial history. Many of the successful businesses have long been established in the town and were sometimes entrepreneurs were in favour of the Apartheid government because of the many benefits received in informal negotiations with the municipally to ensure leniency in terms of property possession.

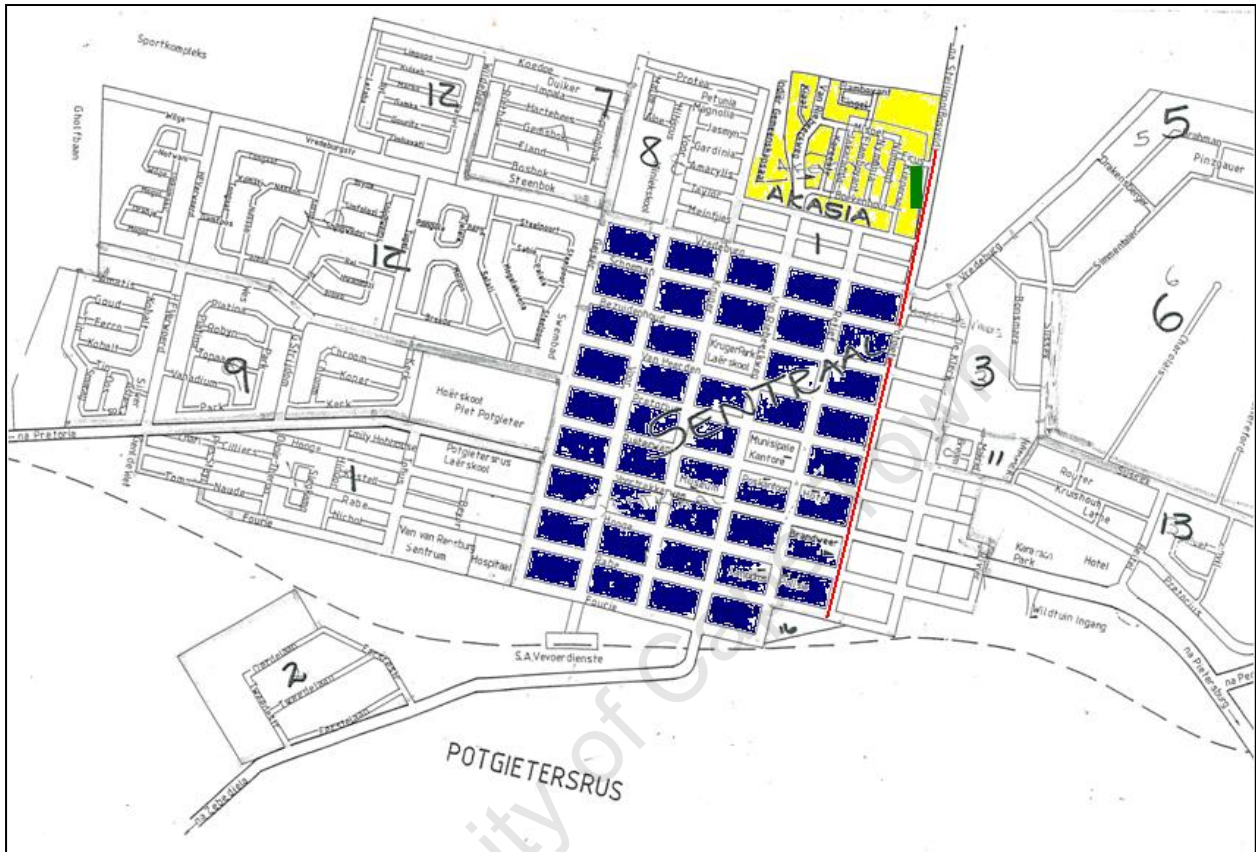


Figure 3: Map of Mokopane at Present

As replicated in most South African cities and demonstrated in Christopher's (2001a) *Atlas of a Changing South Africa*, the legacy of the old Apartheid city still holds strong in Mokopane. Although renamed to Mokopane, the divisions enforced by the Group Areas Act still linger. The current map of Mokopane does show significant growth. However, the 'Sentraal' and Akasia residential areas have remained primarily White and Indian. Sections marked seven and eight are mostly occupied by Black residents, while section nine and twelve are the newest neighborhoods and have a mixture of both White and Black residents, and a sprinkling of Indian people. Areas to the right of the city centre are mostly industrial. The representation of the town, as demonstrated in the above maps, runs in close comparison with that of Goldberg's (1998)

portrayal of the ‘new segregation’, a society with no legal constraints to interaction, yet persistent in its tendency towards racial isolation. Through interviews and informal conversations, it became apparent that only a handful of Indian families have chosen not to reside in Akasia; from my interactions, five, very affluent, families were identified to have moved out of the neighborhood.



Figure 4: Small Town Life in Mokopane

Despite the removal of legal segregation enforced by the Group Areas Act, divisions of the ‘old Apartheid City’ remain relatively intact. Askasia has remained primarily an “Indian” area, with a few Africans moving in. The notion of *place identity* therefore resonates with this illustration. Similar to Durrheim’s (2005) description of the historical importance of spatiality, Dixon (1997) maintains that racial identity is imprinted within physical locations. Although Akasia was initially established as an institutional demand of the Apartheid government, the area now holds a more symbolic meaning. It was *their* space, an *Indian* space, and therefore not a mere physical location but rather a promise of acceptance and comfort.



Figure 5 and Figure 6: Examples of Remodeled Houses in Akasia

Butler and Venter's (1984) study, looking at housing developments and regional planning in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, uses analyses of social spaces to reflect on socio-economic and family structures in the Indian community. More specifically, changes in housing situations, involving both relocation and renovations, were evaluated and weighed against the social and structural implications apparent. For example, in certain districts, locals preferred to remodel houses and develop the previously assigned location, rather than settling in new or more developed previously "White" areas. Similarly in Akasia, as shown in the two photographs above, most families have remained in the area and chosen to rather improve their own houses. Using Butler and Venter's similar observational method, simply from the size and extravagance of the houses, it appears that the wealth in the community has grown. The housing developments not only show economic prosperity but also an attachment to Akasia, choosing rather to develop *their* own neighborhood. The size of many of the houses may also suggest that the residence cater for extended family as well.



Figure 7: Example of Residences Occupied by Immigrants from India and Pakistan

With the recent influx of both Pakistani and Indian immigrants¹², the Akasia community's population has grown considerably. Most of these new immigrants have chosen to settle in the Akasia district, possibly owing to its 'Indian' quality. However, the new settlers do not reside directly in the area, but mostly on the outskirts. In informal interactions with the Akasia community, the immigrant population's apparent physical marginalisation is accredited to a 'lack of space' in the central Akasia area. At the centre of the Akasia area, most residents are considered as 'locals', their families having lived in the town for generations. The image from the photograph above demonstrates the lower quality housing used by the new immigrant

¹² Many of these Indian immigrants hold dual residence, in Mokopane and surrounding villages or townships, since businesses have been established in these areas as well. There is speculation in the community that some immigrant persons actually live in their shops and do not have separate accommodation.

residents. The building occupied by the Indian immigrant population almost resembles a slum corner circling the wealthier long-term, local Indian neighborhood. Most of the flats are overcrowded, with an estimate of eight-to-ten persons living in a two-room apartment. The contrast between the immigrant Indian and 'local' Indian housing is substantial, the divergent wealth disparity being the main difference.

Discursive Depictions of Continued Informal Segregation

Despite evident restructuring of the town, residents, particularly the Indian community, still assume a physical separation. The basic observational analysis of the above spatial patterns in the layout of Mokopane and the arrangement of Akasia itself, demonstrates continued racial isolation. In comparison to the above geographical description, participants' discursive constructions of change and racial integration in Mokopane overwhelmingly demonstrate a pattern of continued informal segregation. In line with previous research, 25 of the participants, across gender divides, constructed a picture of regulated contact. As Abraham remarked, "By in large, Apartheid served its purpose, it has kept people apart". Yusuf more abruptly describes this recurring tendency:

Well, look, the Blacks are with the Blacks, the Whites with the Whites. The Whites are still racist in this town they still have the AWB, the boeramag. You do get a few Whites that do mingle, you know, some have changed, but I would say that ninety-percent of them are still full of shit.

That is not to say that there has been no amendment to the previous social structure. As with the physical name change from Potgietersrus to Mokopane, there has been structural and social transformation in the town, as in Masroor's description, "today things are different, you could not imagine that we were treated as animals". Ali, an elderly and well respected member of the community, provides a vivid example of apparent reconciliation. Being 82 years of age, and having lived in Mokopane for the majority of his life, Ali is easily able to track the changes in social interactions between 'races' during the Apartheid struggle - in the transitional phase and now sixteen-years after the first democratic elections. He recounts that:

If a White man was to come to my shop in the old Apartheid era and his son was to call me oom, the White man would look at him and say, 'Hy is nie oom nie, hy is a Coolie.' Today, never mind the child, he (the man), calls you oom.

Although there is evidence of transformation, the intimacy of such contact is once again questioned. As in Durrheim and Dixon (2005b) and Tredoux's et al. (2005) studies, racial contact in the town may be routine and frequented in different daily activities, however genuine social contact is lacking. Sujata's account of cross-racial interaction aptly demonstrates that, although formal processes of desegregation are ongoing, it appears that contact again emerges at a superficial level. It's evident that the Indian community has also maintained a more physical separation, mostly remaining in Akasia; "we have pretty much stayed apart, geographically, but as well as socially". "I really don't think they give a damn. They are living their own life. They don't mix with the Indians. We don't have other friends"; here Salim directly expresses the apathetic attitude of the town towards real social integration. His statement not only objectifies and depersonalises other 'race' groups by using *they* to identify them, but demonstrates a lack of any desire to instigate or cultivate a friendship with anyone other than Indians. Mona expresses her frustrations with living in the town and the superficial nature of apparent integration. She relayed her experiences of the conservative nature of 'small town mentality', explaining how difficult it is to breach socially-imposed racialised boundaries.

It sometimes becomes very frustrating, because we don't have those opportunities that open mindedness. Also in terms of mindedness in the community. It's just not the Indian community, but the entire town, hmm, they just don't see things futuristically... People deal with each other because of business, hmm, or work, but it is pretty superficial... I come home, she comes home, our cultures are very different, that sort of thing... There might be an open door and allow you in to talk about business, but were not going to come over every Saturday and have a braai and sit on your couch.

Much emphasis has been placed in traditional social psychological literature on the importance of contact in finding a 'resolution' to prejudice (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005). However, the transformation attempts in Mokopane demonstrate how change in a social organisation does

not necessarily result in a change of attitudes. Fatimah's statement, for example, illustrates this apparent lack of shift in attitudes and practice; "Ya, you won't change the attitude too much, but we all live where we want to live... some people are just stuck in their ways". Even in regards to the local High school¹³, racial divisions tend to persist spatially. Iraj explains: "We are just separate, we just stay out of each other's way. I know that the Indian's have a certain section of the school". In this example the intersection between a space and ideology again surfaces. It is not just a school, a neutral geographic location; it is interlocked with historical and personal significance. Racialised categories in the town appear to 'know their place', as an unwritten rule or as a result of social conditioning. Without institutional or legal demands, groups demonstrate a natural tendency to migrate towards 'their own kind'; therefore keeping to previously defined spatial locations. Van Ommen and Painter (2005) also comment on the internalised ideals of Apartheid illustrated by spatial representations in the town of East London. Similarly, apparent neutral geographical positioning are given more weight, since certain spaces have been infused with ideological significance.

Spatial positioning in the town and even the school may not be inadvertent, but rather similar to Schreiff's et al. (2005) description of *White spatial dominance*. Mokopane, or rather Potties, is referred to as "their town", the "farming town", as Sujata expressed, "Ya this actually is an Afrikaans town... You feel you are a small part of a big White Afrikaans town, you do anything to survive in this town because you are Indian". Although Afrikaners are in the minority, White supremacy appears to still linger. Navid's description illustrates the oscillating possession:

¹³ The local high school in question is called *Potgietersrus Hoër Skool*, previously an Afrikaans medium high school. The associated primary school had a very contested and violent integration process, when forced to desegregate the school and change the language medium. The high school was permitted to become a dual-medium school and avoided a similar experience, but still the school remains primarily Afrikaans, and so White, with a handful of English (Black and Indian) students. Language appeared to be used as an excuse to maintain a degree of racial separation.

I think that it is changing, in a way, like the Boers are the minority. Lots of non-Whites are starting to get authority in some places. But in other places, the Boere still rule.

Similarly, in the local high school, the notion of special entitlement re-emerges. *Potgietersrus Hoër Skool*, maintains similar spatial positioning. Described as ‘their school’, the Indian students still appear to assume a subordinate position. Dolby’s (2001) study on desegregation at Fernwood School runs in close comparison. The same notion of White spatial dominance and entitlement was replicated. Holtman, Louw, Tredoux and Carney’s (2005) analysis of desegregation at multiple schools proposed that increased contact did instigate more integration among students. However, here it appears that contact is in fact very limited; students may attend the same school but still retain almost full physical separation. Running in parallel to Dolby’s (2001) case-study on an Indian student at Fernwood School, Indian students at the local high school similarly experience a subordinate position. As Iraj again explains, “The school is doing us a big favour by accommodating us.” Previous graduates describe their experience as “racist, actually not so good” or as Jatin explains:

It was a White school and being Indian [pause] that was difficult. It was like, he is Indian, we look down on him, yeah...In a farming town, the White race still dominates.

One particular area of the Mokopane, *Nail Park* (in section 12 on the above maps), is identified as an almost ‘Whites only’ area. The participants expressed their dislike in going to the area, mostly avoiding association. Sujata and Navid engage in a dialog during a combined interview, together they explain an incident of racism experienced and their frustration with the lack of change:

I: You said there was an Incident?

S: Ya, with Indian and White people, especially in this area called Nail Park, if you want to write that down, it is important. It’s this little shop. There have been so many incidents, like we go there because it is convenient.

N: Nail Park. You find the strong boers there.

[Laughs]

No serious. They like, they are a bit superior.

S: There was an incident where the Indian attempted to speak Afrikaans to make it easier for them. But the Afrikaans person responded by saying that Afrikaans is my language, please don't speak it.

N: I think that in every boere's heart there will still be Apartheid in there.

[laughs]

No but serious.

It appears that although the participants may make light of the above 'incident', a racial hierarchy still dictates 'race' relations in the town. Textual constructions of space, across the community's perspective, primarily converge on the representation of the town as a 'farming community' and 'Afrikaans town'. The collective identity of the Afrikaner *volk* is intrinsic to the idea of the *boer* or the farmer (Dubow, 1992), interlocked within the spatial significance of the bush *veld*. Therefore, a description of the town as a farming community or 'Afrikaner stronghold', reminds us of the symbolic and emotional attachment to space (Foster, 2005).

'Potties', the abbreviated term for Potgietersrus, is not just a town, but a space that resonates with reminders of past oppression. "In this town, how we suffered with all those Whites. How they used to boycott our shops... at one stage the government was ready to deport all the Indian", Parvin's narrative contains the negative undertone latent with the community's depiction of the Mokopane, and paralleled in Navid's words: "I don't want to stay in the middle of a boera place". Goli similarly explains how she prefers to just stay away from the 'White dominant areas', and how it is still difficult for her to be reminded of past injustices. In contrast, Akasia, embodies a place of comfort, 'home'. Akasia was no longer a space imposed by the Apartheid government, but rather a refuge away from Afrikaner suppression. Here the physical becomes ideological. Finchilescu's (2005) notion of meta-stereotypes may also explain why the Indian community prefers to stay away from identified "White" areas. Avoidance of these

contact situations may thus be a result of intergroup anxiety, causing the Indians to withdraw into their comfort zone places.

It appears that reconciliation has taken limited hold within the community, possibly as a result of retained resentment of the Apartheid past. The majority of participants reported stronger feelings of solidarity with the Black community, explaining that “during Apartheid, we were seen as Black”. Drawing on this shared oppression during the struggle, Abraham articulates a sense of community with his ‘African neighbours’, explaining how it is “easier to relate to African people, there is no difference, I always considered ourselves as the oppressed group, the ANC talks about the Black oppressed, that includes Indians and Coloured.” In contrast, there is still much resentment directed towards the White community, particularly the Afrikaners, most admitting to a kind of “boer hate”.

I think it is not easily forgotten. For me it serves as a barrier. That memory is still so deep that you often look at people and wonder, you have enjoyed everything for all your life and you still stand there and look at me as if you are superior. [Jasmine]

Covert Racism

Contrary to previous research, racial isolation in Mokopane moves beyond informal segregation to what can be described as hidden or covert racism. Many of the Indian discourses reaffirmed this idea of masked racism: “most of it is just swept underneath the carpet.” Yusif, aligned with Goffman’s (1971) theatrical theory of identity, describes how townspeople perform opposing public and private roles, “So there are those people that can be nice because of business, but we are not home friends... behind closed doors, you are still a coolie”.

Ya there might be a degree of superiority among the white folks over other groups...but that open racism is not there, but you feel it at times, the majority keep to themselves [Abraham].

It appears that Apartheid’s previous ideologies have not yet been dissolved, but still linger within state institutions that assume so-called ‘non-racial’ policies. Therefore, more covert mechanisms, such as informal segregation or hidden racism, seem to arise and re-establish the status-quo.

Despite structural changes, it appears that “the character of the town has stayed the same”. The prospect of racial contact is almost characterised by fear and tension. Uncertain of the consequences of integration, the community, for example, feared “... the AVB at one stage” that the “Afrikaners will take over again” since “Potties is a stronghold.”

Participants’ discursive constructions, however, are not isolated texts. They exist within a wider socio-cultural context. It can be argued that discourse exists within larger ideologies contained in a political arena (Parker, 1992). Justifications of segregation or racist ideas in Mokopane are deeply entrenched in a highly religious, specifically Muslim discourse, which can be compared to the Afrikaaner, Christian discourse. Racist ideas do not seem to exist at a purely individual level. Seemly personal beliefs emanate from wider ideologies (Parker, 2005). Apartheid was not only a political tool of oppression, endorsing racial division, but was founded on a Christian ideology and patriarchal system (Dubow, 1992). Religious conservatism, as explained by many participants, shapes views and lifestyle. More conservative practices of Islam may therefore be comparable to some of the practices of conformist Christian ideology used during Apartheid. As with Christianity, belonging to the Muslim faith is used as another rationale to continue group separation.

In the absence of the ‘optimal conditions’ of racial contact (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), racial interaction is therefore frequented by hostility, even violence. Metaphorical descriptions used by Iraj and Mohammad illustrate the nature of racial conflict and reveal the volatile nature of inter-racial relations in Mokopane: “And when people don’t discuss issues and hide it under the mattress, it sometimes burns up and explodes”, “you still have racism among the Whites, in certain places you cannot go, they will start fights. So to avoid that we just keep away”. Dolby’s (2001) overall impression of the Fernwood School is similarly described. She explains that desegregation in the school, like the town, is conflict-ridden, with hostilities erupting with increased racial contact. Re-segregation thus ‘diffuses’ racial tension, adopting a peace-keeping function. Therefore it can be argued that informal segregation acts as a regulator of hostile and hidden racism, “So you get conflict, but they just won’t fight they just abstain from one another”. Again it appears that Apartheid ideologies infiltrate institutions; specifically, schools. Supposed ‘illegal’ beliefs have not been disband, but have instead employed subtle

means to replace themselves within institutions and everyday life, therefore reinforcing the social order.

Rhetorical Constructions of ‘Race’

Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that discourses are not purely ideological, but also adopt a rhetorical function. In this way, ‘race talk’ can be considered as rhetorically constructed to create a particular reality, seemingly factual and stable, by using various discursive devices. Drawing from ancient Greek rhetorical tradition, Billig (1987) maintains that language is a method of persuasion, actively constructed against an ‘other’. In all interviews, some form of argumentative dialectic emerged. In navigating their story of “Indianness” in Mokopane, discursive constructions regarding racial interactions in the town commonly took shape in the form of argumentative practices. Two dominant rhetorical strategies can be located, labelled as ‘normalise’, which moves into a ‘justify’/defence approach.

Normalise and Justify

This is a process in which a phenomenon is described as normal and natural, functioning to close off the argument. Billig (1991) argues that customs and practices emerge as uncontroversial and undisputed when identified as natural or normal. In most interviews, but in particular among Indian men, the interview was eventually concluded by racial divisions being described as natural or normal. The conception that racial ‘groupings’ are an innate or unchangeable tendency were duplicated in multiple discourses, describing how “naturally you socialise with people that are the same as you” or “how it is a natural thing for a person to like his own community or group”, creating a factual representation of segregation.

Across interviews, rhetorical constructions were orientated towards the regulation of the status quo. Rhetorical practices commonly function to legitimise or normalise racial division (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005b). As in Wetherell and Potter’s (1992) conclusions in *Mapping the Language of Racism*, where White New Zealanders used the ‘culture’ of the Maori people to legitimise segregation, the Indian community similarly used the ‘culture’ argument to defend their own ‘cultural’ exclusivity. Persons seemed moved to validate their reasons for limited interactions with other ‘race’ groupings in the town, using Indian ‘culture’ as a motivation. Standard

rhetorical arguments of self-distancing and victimisation (Billig, 1991) can thus be identified as core rhetorical techniques used. Individuals seemed to deflect self-blame or avoid a racist label by using the ‘culture’ defense, as replicated in Misag’s statement, “You see they have a different culture... I think on the rule we like to stay among ourselves. But it is our culture, it is a natural thing”.

However, the presentation of racial segregation as a natural human experience can be understood beyond rhetorical workings, in the context of what Barker (1981) refers to as the ‘new racism’. This theory proposes that, for better or for worse, *it is* a human condition to be bound to one’s community, aware of ‘outside’ differences, maintaining that it is human instinct to preserve one’s culture and defend one’s territory. Focusing on British attitudes towards immigration, Barker further identifies an emotional connection with the nation as not just a place, but a national home. It is further explained that the ‘new racism’ can also be considered as a ‘cultural racism’. To appear more neutral and appropriate in justifications for continued racial division, assumed racial differences are explained as cultural variations or dismissed as inherent lifestyles and habits.

The normalise strategy then moves further to a comfort discourse. It is not only normal, but more comfortable to prefer ‘culturally’ similar company. As in Shanta’s case, she explained that before her Indian colleague she had friends at the office but now has “someone she can relate to”. Iraj honestly conveys this impression of in-group solidarity by explaining that “An Indian just feels for another Indian”. Here Iraj’s statement functions to draw the conversation to a close by using an almost biological or innate justification. Similar to post-structuralist thinking, argumentative practices create a certain version of reality. Analysts of rhetoric highlight how racist discourses intend to undermine transformation processes, in an effort to justify prejudiced positions (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Justifying lack of integration can also be warranted by using a comfort strategy, again appearing more innocent and less controversial.

You look for the company you are comfortable with... it is a natural thing for a person to like his own community or group, there is nothing wrong with it. I can relate easier to people that are not White. I have White friends, but it is not an easy relationship. I have no feeling of comfort with White folk”. [Vahid]

Legacy of the Group Areas Act: Sandwiched Identity

The Indian community holds a particular role within the town's segregation dynamic, assuming a middle position. Historically, Indians have not only spatially but symbolically acted as a buffer group between Black and White South Africans under the Apartheid regime (Radhakishnan, 2005). Within the multicultural ideal of the new South Africa, Indians appear to be negotiating their own national identity. Trapped between the previous White oppressive rule and the current governance of the Black majority, the Indian community is now fixed within a sandwiched identity.

Well I think the Indians are like, we are in a sandwich, the Indians are in the center. Yeah, in a sandwich, that is the way it is. [Yusif]

Yusif's metaphoric use of this 'sandwiched identity' is replicated by multiple discourses, for example, 'Yeah Indians are just stuck in the middle'. This middle position can be well represented by the story of the town's first non-White mayor, a prominent Indian entrepreneur. Ali recalls the dynamics of the election:

You see the Whites liked me, I think they thought I was more like them, and the same with the Blacks. So that is how it happened. If there had to be a Black majority I guess I was the best option. I was neither White nor Black. Being in the middle helped in that, ya. I could be accepted by both, I was well received, but what was deep in their hearts I don't know.

However, Indian interactions with the White community are particularly limited, with 'that open racism not there' however 'you feel it at times, and the majority keep to themselves'. As in the liberation struggle, the Indian community assumes a sense of brotherhood with the Black community, as in Misaig's words, "The Indians by in large definitely have not been sitting on the White-side of the fence, historically we have been very close to the Black community." This sense of closeness to the Black community may have even arisen out of more arbitrary forms of classification, "before there was either Black or White, there was no brown, so the Indians fell under Black" or even more simply stated by Akbar "I just think the Indians just get on better with the Blacks, that just the way I see it". "You are just sandwiched. You have no directive. But

I think we are closer to the Blacks”, here, it is clear that, although ‘Indian middleness’ is persistent, it is not a clearly objective position.

This dilemma of a sandwiched identity may explain why the community prefers Indian exclusivity in social interactions. ‘Not being White enough or Black enough’ may restrict outside contact, at the risk of social rejection. Radhakrishnan’s (2005) study on Indian women replicated this feeling of exclusion. In many ways the Indians have been neglected in the reconciliation process. In schools, for example, it is explained how “It is almost under the radar. Once you mistreat a Black person, because they were more ill treated than the Indians, it becomes a huge issue and I think the school wants to avoid a huge issue. But with the Indians they just overlook it.” Mona recalls the story of attending an event of the Afrikaans speaking community, where her bodily appearance exudes her ‘Indianness’ and thus also the possibility of group acceptance:

I have encountered a version, going to a school, being a person of colour, wearing a head scarf and not speaking Afrikaans. Those kind of things still exist. I went to a talk last Saturday and I knew I would be the only person of colour with a head scarf, and I had a remark that I shouldn’t have been there.

The understanding that ‘race’ is a discursive construction is not being argued here, but rather that restricting our understanding to a strictly social constructionist approach is limiting. Durrheim and Dixon (2005) suggest a combined approach, recognising the cohesive relationship between space, embodiment and discourse. In Mokopane, the discursive and spatial-embodied construction of being Indian is reflected in the continued racialisation of the Akasia area and its assumed “buffer” identity. The physical space of Akasia, as a supposed buffer area, under the authority of the Group Areas Act has now seemed to transcend beyond a mere spatial classification. The discursive constructions of this middle positioning or sandwiched identity seem to mirror that physicality of Akasia as a buffer or middle district, highlighting spatial significance within discursive meanings.

CHAPTER 5: IDENTITY CONCEPTIONS

‘Look a Negro!’ It was an external stimulus that flickered over me as I passed by.

I made a tight smile.

‘Look, a Negro’. It was true. It amused me.

‘Look, a Negro!’ The circle was drawing a bit tighter. I made no secret of my amusement.

‘Mama, see the Negro! I’m frightened! Frightened! Frightened!’

Now they were beginning to be afraid of me. I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter became impossible

I could no longer laugh, because I already knew that there were legends, and above all historicity, which I had learned about the Jaspers. Then, assailed at various pointed, the corporeal schema crumbled, its place taken by racial epidermal schema.

(Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 1986, {1952}, pp. 111-112)

Working Beyond the Text: Body, Space and Discourse

In approaching this project through the lens of ‘race’ and space theory, the interconnection to identity, specifically minority identity, was examined in the small town context of Mokopane. Identifying the Indian community as such a minority group, Chapter 4 sought to demonstrate how continued patterns of informal segregation manifest itself, using both spatial and discursive methods. This chapter will focus on negotiating conceptions of ‘Indianness’ among the dialogue of a ‘new South Africa’. Radhakrishnan (2005) argues that within a post-Apartheid climate shifting discourses of national identity have created a conflicting cultural space for the Indian minority. Caught within this sandwiched or ‘buffer’ identity, spatio-embodied practices and discourses of the Akasia Indian community will aim to assert a mostly marginalised minority voice.

The focus of this study has mostly rested on discursive and spatial practices of the Akasia minority. Durrheim and Dixon (2005a) explain the codependent relationship between embodiment, discourse and space. There is a need to explore shifting meanings of minority identities not only within social space, but also through bodily practices of 'race'. Ratele and Schefer (2003) argue that the "body, then, in a manner of speaking, is the space on which the battle for South Africa, or the South African soul, was waged" (p. 89). Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks*¹⁴ (1986), marks one of the pioneer works within embodiment theory. In his analysis, Fanon uses this embodied approach to explain how meaning has already been attached to Black bodies and thus constructed as abject and inferior (Oliver, 2004). The Indian minority, it can be argued, have been subject to similar bodily objectification. The social engineering of Apartheid constructed forms of racialised subjectivities influencing both space and the body: the implementation of racial segregation effecting spatial arrangements of groups and racial classification influencing bodily representations. Acting as a marker for racial classification, a person's body therefore defined one's social positioning and subsequent group identity. Within this framework, the construction of the Indian group identity of the Akasia community will be questioned.

This chapter will firstly outline and investigate the identified core values latent within the Akasia community, in comparison to literature on assumed 'Indian values' and cultural practices. Using these core values as bases of analysis, defining characteristics of in-group and out-group mentality will be discussed. To help better demonstrate shifting meanings of 'Indianness', three female case-studies will be presented, illustrating preferences to a South African identity rather than a supposed Indian identity. My own experience of group integration within the Akasia community will be used as a further case-study to test the described defining characteristics and

¹⁴ Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986), uses a psychoanalytic framework to describe what Hook (2005) calls the 'identity trauma' of blackness. The title, *Black Skin, White Masks*, itself alludes to the general conclusion of his investigation, in that the underlying 'pathology' of the Black man is his desire to be White. Emerging from earlier exposure to colonial racist values, it is argued that these social inequalities, merged in an oppressive environment, caused cultural trauma, resulting in internalised feelings of inferiority (Hook, 2005).

in-group assimilation. This chapter will then conclude with an examination of an internalised pattern of informal segregation among the new Indian immigrants and South African Indians in conjunction with the discussed in-group mentality.

Core values: In-group and Out-group

Pettigrew's (1998) review called for more emphasis on the additional processes involved in the contact hypothesis. Specifically, the review argued that future studies must focus on identifying what characterises out-group mentality, as well as documenting in-group assimilation processes. Evaluation of constructed in-group and out-group mentality of the Indian community may therefore add further input to these additional processes involved in the application of the contact hypothesis.

Freund (1995), in his analysis of changes among the Indian working class, comments on the memories of racial exclusion of the Indian minority. He describes how the Indian communities were cast as outsiders; not only physically in cities, but also in economic and political aspects. In exploring the group identity of the Indian minority in Mokopane, it is clear that different minority identities are merged - those based on 'race', culture and religion. One then questions the defining characteristics of this group and the consequent insiders and outsiders. In exploring various psychological perspectives on minority identity formation, Hutnik (1991) uses Tajfel's theory of inter-group relations as a possible alternative in explaining minority group identity construction. In summary, Tajfel argues that minority individuals strive for a sense of positive social identity, since minorities often assume an inferior status in comparison to the majority. In using this theory minority groups tend to re-evaluate and create social characteristics to maintain some distinctiveness, while creating a foundation for a positive social identity. In line with inter-group theory, one can therefore assume that certain core values or defining characteristics can be identified among the Indian community in Akasia. Insiders and outsiders can thus further be identified according to assimilation of these core characteristics.

In attempting to establish the core values defining the minority group identity of the Akasia community, two methods were utilised. Firstly, using the interview data, recurring themes and attitudes described by participants were compiled. My personal account of in-group integration

while conducting the study will further be used as a direct account of how individuals may be evaluated and received into the community. The diagram below provides a basic model of the core values identified. The model is only a basic framework to better understand in-group and out-group characteristics. In summary a five stage hierarchy can be built, starting from 1) Religion 2) Family 3) Culture 4) Economics/Class 5) Education.

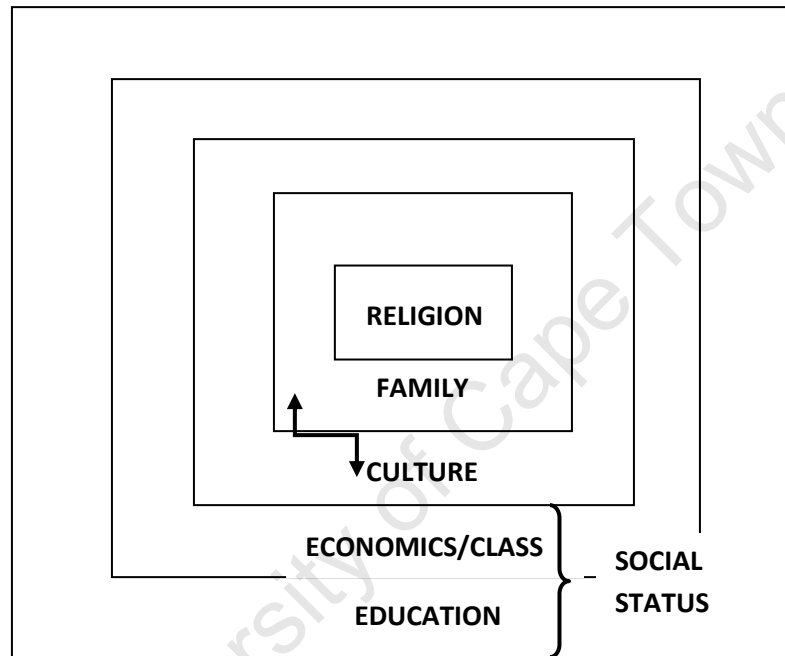


Figure 8: Core Values

Participant Construction

Participants' identity formations mostly converged on Religion. Being Muslim surfaced as a defining characteristic of being "Indian" or a member of the Akasia community. Persons commonly described the community as being "conservative Muslim" or "very religious". A Muslim identity appears to be the most significant commonality and the source of group solidarity. This becomes more evident when referring to difficulties with the new immigrants. Participants explained "that we are all Muslim in the end", implying that regardless of their differences a shared Muslim identity still holds them together. Yet there are still elements of being 'culturally' Muslim, where the religious aspects become enmeshed with family or Eastern

traditions. For example, a girl walking alone in the neighborhood is interpreted as “unchaste behaviour”, but this can be understood as a more Eastern than religious belief. Here, however, although individuals may be Muslim more by culture than religion, being Muslim by name seems to be adequate. Nonetheless, certain values like integrity, chastity and absence from alcohol emerge as integral and important.

Family and ‘culture’ emerged as an almost interconnected entity. The family structure in Mokopane, similar to Jithoo’s (1985, July) analysis on South African Indian family life, moves beyond the traditional nuclear family to large, extended family arrangements. Most members of the community have some connection to a long family heritage in Mokopane. The “pioneer” families that first settled in the town are still prominent residents. ‘Culture’ in this case is referred to by the participants as an evolution, a combination of Indian, South African and western customs. This evolved ‘cultural’ identity will be discussed at greater length below. When asked why participants liked Mokopane or why they continued living or returned to the town, the majority replied that ‘family’ is what draws them back. The cultural norms of Indianness and family attachments further define underlying values of the community.

Identity can be understood as being in constant motion and subject to external influence. It is therefore important to consider identity formation within a global context. Economic and educational status has increasingly merged into positive social identities, running in close association with the demands of a globalised society (Dolby, 2001). As a secondary measure, economic standing or class and education weighed significantly on group acceptance. Regarding economic aspects, this may however have been carried over from the caste system¹⁵ in India

¹⁵ The caste system in India can be described as a historical social classification method, which affects both formal political and everyday social aspects of inter-group relations. Tension oscillates between religion, wealth, gender, age and colour associated differences, to name a few. Historically groups in India have similarly been organised into social hierarchies and are ranked according to certain qualities. People’s behaviour towards each other is constantly shaped by these rankings (Mason, 1967). It can be assumed that such prejudices stemming from the caste system followed Indian immigrants to South Africa. It is unclear whether segregation practices and prejudices of Apartheid or the caste system were more influential in the Indian community, yet it is natural to assume that the immediacy of Apartheid imposed greater weight. Prejudices within the Indian community may therefore be a mixture of dogmatic ideologies from Apartheid and the Indian caste system.

(Jithoo, 1985, July). Academic performance in school and higher education further surfaced as primary indicators of positive group perception and inclusion.

The Researcher Experience

Here, it may be useful to reflect on my personal account of the research process and my subsequent experiences in confronting the Akasia community. By assuming an embodied approach, one must consider that my positioning in the research process was in no way neutral or objective. My physicality as the researcher came into question. In this case-study, the “body” of the researcher came under consequent investigation. By being in a specific body, a body of a young, ‘Indian’ woman, engenders certain perceptions and preconceptions even before any conversation has occurred. In line with Parker’s (2005) conclusions, participant’s discursive constructions and interview process were largely influenced by perceptions of my own identity. Locating myself within the interview and the development of my interactions with the community may help demonstrate the internal dynamics of the minority community. In conducting this study I was required to live in Mokopane and accustom myself to the lifestyle of the community. My first introduction to the community came as an apparent outsider, however during the three-week period I gradually assimilated into their routine, possibly gaining in-group acceptance. The process in which I was perceived, placed and accepted into the community, first through bodily perception and then through talk, may act as a measure and guide to the identified core values.

In first approaching the participants, bodily perceptions guided the introduction. How the individuals “saw me”, potentially led to certain conclusions. The participants first encounter me as a researcher and through my physicality, being: young, a woman and having an Indian appearance. Initial judgments may have helped establish an unspoken bond with the participant, simply based on an Indian quality in my appearance also falling in line with the ‘cultural’ core value. During the course of the interview most participants continued to directly question my national and cultural heritage. Before my introduction to the community I was already well acquainted with one of the predominant families of Akasia. During the course of the interview my connection to the family gradually became known by default. In certain interviews, where establishing a connection with the participant was difficult, transcriptions revealed that I would

specifically mention that I knew the family well, knowing that this commonality would create an opening in the interview process. Certain conclusions about my social status, specifically class-related and education, could have been made through basic introductions. In the first few minutes of each interview I proceeded to introduce myself as: “a student researcher from the University of Cape Town”, also explaining that this study was for my masters’ dissertation. The social status given to the University of Cape Town and post-graduate studies were hence projected to the participant. In most interviews, participants were very curious and when given the opportunity openly enquired about my religion and later other personal details, such as my parents’ professions.

In view of the above, it appears that I complemented most criteria from the core values identified. From bodily perceptions, initial introductions as me as a masters student from UCT and direct questioning of my social status, I appeared acceptable. My “cultural” similarity and family connection drew me closer to insider status, while not being Muslim may have been the biggest hindrance in possible in-group acceptance. However, my personal background can be easily paralleled to the defining characteristic of the community. Here it is important to ask what indicators marked possible assimilation into community life. The participants were very welcoming in their interactions, regularly offering meals, even accommodation. I was, also invited to various social events. In an interview with Neha, when referring to the new immigrant population, it was explained that “you can tell the difference between us and them, we are more western”. In this statement it is clear that ‘I’ fell into the category of ‘us’. One can also deduce that such assumptions are mostly made based on physical appearance. It almost appears as though one can actually see the bodily difference. It can further be suggested that in-group acceptance may, on face-value, be attributed to bodily perceptions and only later be further measured against other conditions.

Negotiation of South African and Indian identities

Large generalisations in Apartheid categorisation methods have almost enforced specific racial and cultural identities. One’s body defined social positioning. Individuals were clustered in large categories; such as Black or Indian, regardless of variations in ethnic heritage (Ratele & Schefer, 2003). Previously grouped by an institutionally defined category of “Indian”, individuals are now

faced with redefining their own social positioning in a post-Apartheid environment. How the majority of South African Indians have come to define their own identity has now come into question. How have cultural meanings and identification with Indianness changed in a post-Apartheid context? Do South African Indians consider themselves Indian or South African? Making sense of racialised categories is subject to varying discursive formations. In many cases it is how the individual internalises racial and cultural identities among institutional and social demands (Dolby, 2001). To help facilitate a greater understanding of shifting meanings of Indianness and national identification, three case-studies of women from the Akasia community will be drawn on after an overall analysis of the interviews.

As a general overview from all 27 interviews, all participants showed a greater identification with their South African identity, rather than their supposed Indian identity. When asked directly, “Would you see yourself as South African or Indian”, 25 of the participants directly asserted their “proudly South African Identity”. There were only two exceptions. One participant claimed a ‘South African Indian’ identity and another male participant gave first preference to his Muslim identity and later his South African. Similar to Radhakrishnan’s (2005) account of personal meanings of Indianness, national belonging and religion emerged as the two dominant characteristics. All participants then, again, placed greater emphasis on being South African or even Black, as oppose to an Indian identity. The notion of a westernised Indian identity was further constructed. In interviews with more elderly persons, it was explained how western influence filtered into cultural heritage over each generation, creating an almost hybrid Indian identity. The younger generation was in conformity with this view, explaining their increased westernisation and decreased attachment to traditional Indian culture. This can be further demonstrated by the younger generation and family households using English as their primary language - rather than previous Indian dialects. It may also be suggested that a South African or more western identity may also indicate a higher social status, with an Indian identity associated with a more inferior standing.

Case Study Examples

To help explore the differences in negotiating meanings of Indianness, three specific examples will now be discussed: (1) Mona, 38 year old Muslim woman, originally from Akasia, coming

from a political background; (2) Nevadna, 42 year old Muslim woman, from Durban, living in Mokopane for three years, married to Pakistani immigrant; (3) Adiilah, 42 year old Muslim woman, coming from Mumbai, India, eight years ago. These women have been chosen specifically because of their different affiliations with the Akasia community.

Mona, 38 years of age, belongs to a middle-to-upper class family and is married with one child. She is well educated, holding a masters degree. She was born in Mokopane and described her family as “having lived here forever”. Growing up during Apartheid, her father and brother held strong political affiliations with the ANC. Her account represented political activism as a strong discourse in her background - carried through into her adult life. Mona explained her frustrations with “small town life and mentality” and the superficial nature of racial contact in Mokopane. She described the wider community viewing Akasia “as just a space where Indians live... business men” and the resentment she still holds against the White community and gender stereotyping because she wears a head scarf. Mona narrates a story of group solidarity among the Akasia community, drawing together as a minority in the town, both racially and religiously. She further explains how memories of past injustices of Apartheid can sometimes inhibit her in reconciliation efforts, but describes “conscious effort” as the only way to start racial healing in the town and South Africa. She was very certain that she will never leave Mokopane. Mona’s conflicting social roles and group identity come into focus when questioned about her South African or Indian identity preference. She states that “I see myself as South African, I grapple with my Identity every day, but I would like my son to think of himself first as a South African before a Muslim”. Mona placed less emphasis on the cultural aspect of being Indian and more on her conflicting identities of being Muslim and holding true to the ideals of equality of the New South Africa. Here, we may also assume that being Muslim and Indian can be considered as overlapping identities.

Nevadna’s portrayal of Mokopane and Akasia offers a contrasting representation. Having lived in Durban for most of her life, she refers to her experience of the Akasia community as a “new culture”. She is a 42 year old Muslim woman, recently married and moved to Mokopane three years ago. She explains how she feels isolated from the community, saying that “if you are not born here, you are not recognised here”. Being educated and trained as an accountant, Nevadna

was fired from her job and claimed to be victimised by her employer because she was not a 'local'. However, she mostly mentioned the 'Indian' community when referring to the town, and only considered the Black and White populations after more direct questioning. She explained reconciliation with the whites as being "hopeless" and how Black women 'tempt' the Indian immigrant men. Being married to a Pakistani immigrant she further describes how different the immigrant population can be and how they are viewed as "foreign aliens". Nevadna seemed to give dual preference to being South African and Indian, calling herself a "South African Indian". However throughout the interview she expressed strong sentiments towards preservation of "our culture and ethics", showing a strong identification with traditional notions of Indianness.

Adiilah is a 42 year old beauty therapist who runs a salon in her home in Akasia. She moved to Mokopane eight years ago from Mumbai, India, having family in the area. She explained her distress in first moving to Mokopane, which she referred to as a village - but now considers home. Although she had many difficulties when first settling into the community, she described how her business allowed her access and acceptance into the community. Adiilah also seemed to neglect the wider Mokopane community and generalise the Akasia community to the town itself. She expressed no great interest or knowledge in integration of problems with the White or Black community, saying that she mostly knows Indians and that "now some Whites also come to her salon". She explains that she can see a marked difference in her children - she describes them as fully South African. Adiilah also prefers to call herself South African, explaining how her grandparents were also South African.

The interviews as a whole and the three case-studies above, illustrate the multiple factors involved in mediating a cultural and national identity. In comparing the narratives from the case studies above, despite differences in personal history and attachments to the Akasia community, all women shifted to center on a national identification. The intensity of their sense of national belonging seems to differ. Identification with their South Africanness or Indianness can be placed on a gradient; Mona for example showing the greatest sense of national identity, even above religious beliefs. In contrast, Navadna still appears to hold a strong attachment to her Indian heritage combining both to create a "South African Indian" identity. Adiilah's account is almost unique, in the sense that she places more weight on her new-found South Africanness

only eight years after leaving India. The notion of a preference to a more western identity again surfaces. It may be assumed that a South African identity is given preference above an Indian, since Indianness may be regarded as an inferior status. It appears that in Adiilah's case she reclassified herself as South African possibly to adopt a more westernised persona.

Using the core-values identified above, assimilation into the assumed South African Indian community of Akasia can again be used. In Mona's case, her family had resided in the town for generations. Having a master's degree and coming from a higher social-economic bracket also confirmed her social status. Adiilah, in contrast, was less of a 'local' in the community and has a more modest living situation. However, her integration into the community and her attachment to South Africa may be a result of her family's legacy in the country, having had generations before her living in Mokopane. Adiilah's business also offers a unique opportunity to interact professionally and socially with the community, possibly helping her build rapport with the residents and facilitate group integration. Nevadna appears to be almost hostile when speaking about the Akasia Indians, saying "if you aren't born here then you are not recognised". Her lack of family ties with the community, paired with her marriage to a Pakistani man and lower economic standing, adds to her apparent exclusion from community life. All three of the women, however, regardless of their background are held together by the commonality of Religion. Their common Indianness may be what initially draws these persons to the Akasia area, a space still known for its Indian quality. However, it seems as though definitions of Indian or South African may be a less defining character of the area of Akasia. Greater emphasis may be placed on Akasia as a Muslim rather than an Indian area. Indian culture is in fact given less preference, with a South African identity holding more weight. The Akasia area and the community's association with Islam may be a stronger unifying factor than 'race' or culture.

Foreign Invasion and a New and Pattern of Indian Segregation

This study falls into focus when questioning a new pattern of Indian segregation within the Akasia area. Up to now this study has documented changes in segregation patterns, comparing Indian integration with other racialised groupings in Mokopane, while exploring shifting conceptions of Indianness and group identity. However, interviews and observational analysis revealed internal divisions and hostility within the Akasia minority. Again drawing on Billig's

(1987, 1991) notion of an internalised dialogue, the Akaisa community is engaged within their own internal segregation struggle. During the Apartheid period, group solidarity among the Akasia minority is described as strong, with the community remaining small in its numbers and with few families moving in. With the arrival of many immigrants, mostly from India and Pakistan, the dynamics appear to be shifting with the community forced to mediate their own internal divisions. Brown (1995) describes social categorisation as necessary for any form of prejudice. Without distinguishable groups, it is almost impossible to discriminate or segregate. Classification implies a label or given name, if we are not labelled as ‘other’ there is limited difference on which to act. Apartheid classifications labelled and grouped a large cluster of people into one category of Indian. However, as argued above, conceptions of Indianness lie on a broad spectrum. Two separate categories of “Indian” surface; South African Indian and immigrant Indian. Abrahams describes there being “a lot of Indians from the Indian sub-continent, so it is that sort of Indianness that draws them here... There is a marked difference, in attitudes, manners and approach”.

Drawing on an Us-Them/We-They distinction, Nava explains that “they are definitely in the majority”, while Yashpal asserts a more marked difference; “they are from there [India], we are not”. Participants’ discursive constructions acted to create a separate category, referring to ‘them’ as aliens or foreigners. As a religious leader in the community, Vahid, attributes this difference to westernisation. We are reminded of Hutnik’s (1991) conclusions that minority values constantly come under pressure by the majority. It is customary for minority groups to assimilate the majority, in this case western, values. A clear example of this is the adoption of English as the primary language medium; only some of the elderly community speak any local Indian dialect. English, for the South African Indians has now become the language of choice.

Our ways have changed, we have developed, if I can call it westernised, eating habits, ways of dressing, everything has changed. But those people still have that culture... for a long time we have been exposed to western education system and learning White history and I think their ways are different and the people are different. [Vahid]

Following the apparent classification of the ‘other’, a sense of fear also surfaces with the influx of the immigrants. Similar to Durrheim, and Dixon’s (2004) classic beach studies, a fear of foreign invasion can be identified. The ‘local’ Indian community complains about the influx of Indian and Pakistani immigrants, “coming in large numbers”. Parvin’s description highlights their frustration and concern of invasion or taking over, “Oh yes! Oh, I can’t live with them, I don’t know, I don’t mix with them. We are flocked with Indians and Pakistanis. You don’t really talk to them... people are not too happy with it. There is an issue of overcrowding. It is escalating, it has not stopped escalating”. Yet subsequent patterns of racial migration, in contrast, are not found. The Indian community does not appear to ‘run away’, but rather keep spatial dominance, with the immigrant population staying on the outskirts of the Akasia neighbourhood. Participants describe there being “no space left” in the area, with very few families moving out to the newer areas, saying that they prefer to be close to the schools and Mosque.

It is interesting however how the local community, although smaller in number, have retained a sense of control in the community. The immigrant Indian population for example allegedly has “not been given full acceptance in the Mosque”, also excluded from serving on religious institutions. It appears that the local community has both economic and spatial primacy, occupying most of the physical area of Akasia, therefore asserting a kind of authority over the majority immigrant population. We can also again reflect on the construction of group identity and outsider mentality. Besides some commonality of Indianness described and the religious similarity, the immigrant Indians do not appear to fit the criteria for in-group acceptance. Family connections, social status and a South African and westernised quality is lacking. Again, Religion serves as the strongest agent for group cohesion. Similar to the previously discussed rhetorical constructions of racial separation, differences described as “cultural”, promote a social distance: “We go to the Mosque together, but you know, we cannot get as close to them as our fellow South Africans” [Nava].

Some participants even go as far as describing it as a “new Apartheid” or xenophobia. In some respect this may be encouraging since there seems to be some acknowledgement of the prejudice. Salim is quite honest in his account, attributing the difference to “habits, like personal hygiene”, while acknowledging the discrimination as “almost like Apartheid in our own culture”

and that “it is a bad thing”. Similar to the covert racism identified with the White community, there seems to be no direct prejudice, but again an informal pattern of segregation and chosen association. As in Akbar’s description, “we have friendships but we know our limits”. An underlying hostility may also still linger. A sense of “tension” is described, accredited to the degree of contact. Living together is explained as enhancing the conflict. Vahid, being a religious leader, almost acts as an objective observer and offers an interpretation of the situation:

People keep things in their hearts, they hide their feelings, but sometimes derogatory names are used. Like in previous times the Whites had names for people. So it also crops up from South African Indians and those coming from India, someone will make a comment. People don’t discuss it, but the problem can erupt, because the tension is building up and then there are outbursts.

In the end we can question the reasons behind this division. Unlike Apartheid’s enforced racial segregation, the internal segregation described is not due to legislative or institutional demands. Can the prejudice lingering in the Akasia minority be attributed to the social conditioning of Apartheid ideologies? Or is classification a more natural or biological human condition? Jithoo (1985, July) describes how the caste system in India was carried over into the South African Indian community, proving that internal segregations and classification are not a novelty within this minority group. As Essed (1991) argues, it is difficult to separate the micro and macro aspects of segregation, since in many ways they are codependent entities. With this in mind, institutional ideologies may have easily filtered down into the everyday experiences of the Indian minority. Prejudice and tendencies towards categorisation, whether arising from traditional Indian conventions or Apartheid dogmas, now are seemingly integrated into the daily experiences of the Akasia community.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

All prejudices, whether of religion, race, politics or nation, must be renounced, for these prejudices have caused the world's sickness. It is a grave malady which, unless arrested, is capable of causing the destruction of the whole human race. Every ruinous war, with its terrible bloodshed and misery, has been caused by one or other of these prejudices... Concerning the prejudice of race: it is an illusion, a superstition pure and simple!

(‘Abdu’l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, 1912, {1979}, pp. 146-148)

In the end we question the actual evil latent in continued social separation. Is it in fact natural to stick to one's "own kind"? What is the harm in keeping social distance? Or have we been conditioned and driven by institutional powers to separate ourselves? What criteria and who defines our group identity? Informal segregation does not seem to be a phenomenon at all, but rather a colloquial social experience. It festers within our neighbourhoods and towns, in South Africa and abroad. Here, one questions the origins of this tendency to migrate towards ones "own kind". What exactly defines one's "kind" is the focal question: 'race', nation, culture, language, or religion. Although there may very well be a 'natural' or innate mechanism that impels this likeness instinct, perhaps of evolutionary significance (Barker, 1981), does this then suggest that we cannot mediate or change our behaviour? We are reminded that 'racism is rooted in the social and structural rather than the personal and psychological' (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p.217). It is not to say that the individual is evil or bad-hearted, but rather that the collective constructs cultivate an environment that breeds racist ideas.

Using the Akasia community in the small town of Mokopane as a micro-ecological setting, this study has attempted to engage a dialogue of transformation and raise the voice of the South African Indian minority. Multiple theoretical perspectives have been drawn on to explore continued informal segregation and minority positioning within the context of transformation in small towns. Shaping the overall framework of the study, Allport's (1954) *contact hypothesis* has been used, while working within a modified paradigm of the micro-ecology of contact, studying

segregation in more intimate spaces. As Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis concludes, the basic premise of the *contact hypothesis* is applicable, but revision is necessary. It remains unclear why contact does not reliably result in a reduction of prejudice. Segregation is understood as both an everyday practice and a social construction (Essed, 1991; Goldberg, 1998). Some authors have re-examined the boundaries of what defines both contact and degrees of segregation (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2005; Dolby, 2001; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b; Foster, 2005), maintaining that inter-group contact in South Africa is exercised mostly on a superficial level. Research focus has recently shifted to investigate patterns of a new variety of racialised division (Finchilescu, 2005), into the arena of informal segregation. An increasing number of studies, in South Africa specifically, have developed innovative approaches to document and analyse continued patterns of racial isolation; more intimate and informal in its working (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Schrieffer et al., 2005; Tredoux et al., 2005). There appears to be an overarching agreement in the literature of a continued pattern of informal segregation characterising transformation efforts in South Africa. Similar to Goldberg's (1998) description of the 'new segregation', Christopher's (2001a) visual illustration demonstrates the persistence of Apartheid ideologies and practices, regardless of the institutional and personal deconstruction of Apartheid's policies. Most notably however, few studies have focused on why racialised divisions endure. It remains unclear why people choose to re-segregate themselves, in the absence of legal or institutional demands.

The underlying mechanisms and reasoning behind persistent racial segregation continues to evade us. What factors continue to undermine our efforts for transformation and reconciliation? Have prejudiced ideas become normalised and infiltrated into our daily practices? Is continued informal segregation a product of social conditioning or a result of intergroup anxiety? How has our historical past shaped our current experience of racialised divisions and prejudice? What power positions act to keep hold of spatial dominance and entitlement? Some authors have proposed certain theories to help uncover meanings behind continued segregation patterns (Durrheim, 2005; Finchilescu, 2005; Van Ommen & Painter, 2005; Schrieffer et al., 2005). This research has attempted to move beyond a purely descriptive analysis of segregation patterns, towards constructing a wider understanding of the complex dynamics of racial prejudice and

division. It has further been argued that 'race' relation research is in need of both a perspective and methodological shift, moving research into more natural, real-life settings. This thesis has attempted to use a body, space and discourse paradigm to facilitate a greater understanding of the consequences of Apartheid segregation and classification. Responding to both a linguistic and spatial turn in research, an integrated approach has been utilised, drawing on spatial, bodily and discursive constructions to foster a more holistic understanding of transformation dynamics.

A hybrid methodological approach has been used, drawing on multiple methods of data collection and analysis. Using a case-study approach, the fieldwork experience facilitated the use of a mixed range of methods allowing for a wider understanding of the Akasia, Mokopane community. Maps, photographs and everyday observations and interactions in the town were used for basic observational and descriptive analysis. Open-ended interviews with 28 residents of Mokopane invited an exploration into the lived experience of the multiple realities of the Indian minority community. Most significantly, critical discourse analysis of Potter and Wetherell (1987, 1994) integrated with a Parkerian approach (1992, 2005) was used, which naturally shifted into a rhetorical analysis of the text (Billig, 1987, 1991). Interactions with the Indian minority community, paired with discursive constructions from the 28 interviews, helped build a proposed model of the core values characterising the community. Three specific case-studies of Indian women in the town were also used to gain greater insight into the identity constructions of Indianness in South Africa and the subjective experience of being 'Indian' in the town. In addition, the personal experience of the researcher was drawn on as an independent source of information. The subjective experience of the researcher moved beyond reflexivity and was integrated into the analytical process. The experience of living in the town for a period of three weeks and the body or physicality of the researcher proved useful in both integrating into the Indian community and understanding the inner dynamics of the Akasia community.

This study has started to explore everyday practices of segregation and prejudice directed towards Indian minority identity within the context of informal segregation. Despite efforts for reconciliation and transformation, this case-study clearly demonstrates a pattern of continued informal segregation. Observations and conclusions from the 2008 case-study analysis of Black, White and Indian 'race' relations in the town already alluded to a strong tendency towards

racialised prejudice and segregation. Isolated and stereotyped depictions of the Indian community, by both Black and White participants in the Mokopane area, suggested that the minority group assumed a marginalised identity. The physical data collection process during the pilot study further affirmed the hypothesis. Interactions with the community were very limited and challenging; participants could only be found within certain business districts and in the residential area itself. The Indian community in Mokopane surfaced as an ‘othered’ identity in the town. Although much literature has been generated on changing segregation patterns and racial attitudes in South Africa, minority communities, such as the South African Indians, are mostly neglected. Falling within a middle racial category of ‘not White enough’ and ‘not Black enough’ (Das Gupta, 1997), the South African Indian identity is in constant negotiation. The complex dynamics of Indian identity and minority positioning within segregation dynamics is in need of further investigation. The political apathy documented among the Indians towards transformation in South Africa, for example, illustrates the confusion and uncertainty surrounding the Indian minority (Radhakrishnan, 2008). The Indian community in Mokopane emerged as a unique opportunity to direct ‘race’ relations and segregation research towards minority interests.

The main question guiding this study is how continued informal segregation manifests itself among the Indian minority of Mokopane. It further questions how racial and spatial identities of the Indian minority have changed as a result of transformation efforts in the new South Africa. A three week case-study analysis of the Akasia community allowed for explorations into the everyday processes that regulate and maintain ‘race’ boundaries, and positioning of the Indian minority and their subjective experience of Mokopane. Traditionally ‘race’ relation research has focused on Black-White dimensions, neglecting the minority groups. As a numerical, racial/ethnic and religious minority, shifting identity constructions of the Akasia Indian community directed investigations, analysing the core-values that define South African Indian identity. In-group and out-group formation, as well as the internal classification of ‘South African Indian’ and ‘Immigrant Indian’ were further analysed.

Using a case-study approach, basic photographic and observational analysis of Maps of Mokopane presented visual depictions of segregation patterns in the town. Observational and

descriptive methods were used to physically outline the lack of spatial change in the Akasia neighbourhood, still remaining a primarily 'Indian' area in the town. Although the town itself has expanded, the physical layout of Mokopane still closely resembles that of the 'old Apartheid city'. Racialised residential areas are a continued reality, and shared social space is further categorised by informal mechanisms of segregation. Discursive constructions, paired with the observational analysis, conclude an overall pattern of ongoing racialised separation in Mokopane. In line with previous research, discursive constructions demonstrate that racial isolation and prejudice have diffused in more intimate areas of contact. The Indian community in particular has maintained both spatial and social distance from White and Black communities. Community life, schools included, circulates around the previous Group Area of Akasia. Akasia no longer appears to hold an association as an Apartheid designated township, but a home and space for the Indian minority. The concept of *place-identity* can be used to account for this spatial attachment. Participants' descriptions of Akasia resonate with a dialogue of group unity and brotherhood. Akasia is not only a mere physical location but a shelter from racial prejudice and a space open to the expression of Indian Identity. As a result, the Indian community has not migrated to newer areas, but has rather developed and enriched Akasia itself. Participant's discursive constructions similarly narrate a story equivalent to Goldberg's (1998) depiction of the 'new segregation', a community not bound by legal impositions but freely chooses to maintain social separation. Inter-racial contact remains mostly superficial. Being a strong economic presence in the town, the Indian community commonly interacts with other 'race' groups, but mostly in matters relating to business. Cross-racial friendships are scarcely found.

A continued pattern of informal segregation was easily identified in Mokopane among the Indian minority community. However, the aim of this study was to move beyond mere descriptions of segregation patterns and explore the hidden meaning behind continued racialised separation. It is argued that informal segregation is not only a reinforced everyday practice, but acts as a regulator of hidden and hostile racism. Social distance appears to prevent or 'diffuse' hostility between 'race' groups. Narratives clearly vilified the Afrikaner community; exposing much resentment and anger towards the 'boer' for indignities suffered during Apartheid. In contrast, relations with the Black community are mostly associated with brotherhood and as comrades in

the struggle, having to unite in the liberation movement, sharing a mutual inferior non-White status in Apartheid standards. Yet Black and Indian communities, with the exception of certain Black Muslim families, are still socially ambiguous. It is also unclear whether there is a degree of superiority among the Indians towards the Black community. Apartheid's racial categorisation schemas created racial hierarchies, placing the Indian community in a higher social standing. Discursive constructions did suggest a replication of this racial hierarchy in normal social situations, possibly accounting for continued spatial distance and minimal inter-group contact between the Black and Indian communities. Informal segregation is again highlighted as the dominant pattern in the town and within the community. It still remains unclear why people choose to re-segregate themselves in the absence this continued racial isolation. It seems that meta-stereotypes and intergroup anxiety may act as a possible reason for the Indian community's lack of integration in the town.

Participants' discursive constructions however, were not neutral narratives but rather rhetorical mechanisms. Keeping to Billig's (1987) understanding of language as a method of persuasion, the primary underlying arguments identified were a *normalise* and *justification* strategy. Participants routinely dismissed racial segregation and described the phenomenon as a natural and normal process. Arguments of 'culture' and 'biological tendencies' were used to create a factual representation of segregation, legitimising continued racial divisions. Rhetorical constructions then moved to a 'comfort discourse'; with participants arguing that the degree of cultural familiarity and lifestyle naturally impels people to migrate towards other South African Indians. The *normalise* and *comfort* strategy used in most interviews disguised racial divisions as innocent and uncontroversial, while serving to justify racial divisions.

The struggle to dismantle the physical and ideological legacy of Apartheid is thus ongoing. Informal segregation can be attributed as an enduring consequence of the Group Areas Act, with segregation effecting public and private spaces. As a result, the physical area of Akasia as a "buffer area" has assumed a metaphorical representation, with the Indian minority adopting a "buffer" or sandwiched identity. The middle position described by the participants illustrates the marginalisation of the Indian community in Mokopane. As a subordinate group in the town, White spatial dominance still appears to dictate the movement of 'races' into different, especially

White, areas. The ideologies of Apartheid appear to have merged into the internalised dialogue and beliefs of the Indian minority community. For many, the need for racial integration or cross-race friendships is not significant. Contact and relations with fellow Indians is considered as natural, normal and comfortable. In terms of Cuthbertson and Leibowitz (1993), placement of minorities within the conceptual framework of pluralism, integration, assimilation and segregation, the Indian minority seemingly varies between these processes. The Indian minority has not fully, but partially, assimilated into the majority westernised culture. Yet they still show preference to the preservation of their own 'cultural' and religious identity. The community does not fully segregate themselves either; however ideal integration standards are not fully represented.

Using a collective definition of 'race' and ethnicity, shifting identity conceptions of Indianness were explored. Negotiating minority identities were examined not only through the lens of social space but also through more bodily conceptions of 'race'. To attempt to understand Indian minority positioning within changing segregation dynamics, it is necessary to consider the multifaceted quality of the collective identity of the community. As a marginalised group in South Africa, it can be argued that the Indian minority has not only been caught in the middle but been subjected to bodily objectification (Oliver, 2004). The post-Apartheid environment has therefore created a conflicting space for the assertion of South African Indian identity (Radhakrishnan, 2008). This study has used the Akasia Indian minority as a specific example of negotiating identities and community structures in the new South African climate. In exploring what characterises in-group and out-group formation in the Akasia community, a model of 5 core values was proposed to help explain the defining features of the minority. Using the research experience, informal interactions with the community and interview material, these 5 core-values emerged as the primary indicators of in-group acceptance. The researcher's own experience of living in the town proved useful in providing a lived account of the in-group assimilation process. Religion, namely Islam, surfaced as the participants' primary defining characteristic. It is still unclear however if individuals are more culturally Muslim, than religiously. Family and 'culture' stood forward as an overlapping quality. Having a one-hundred-and-twenty-two year history in Mokopane, most of the pioneering families have remained the same. Family

connections and group solidarity within the family unit, therefore, emerged as significant. 'Indianness', as a defining cultural characteristic, arose as a combination of Indian, South African and western customs. What exactly defines South African 'Indianness' is later expanded on by three specific case-studies. Social status, as a combination of economics or class and education, also appeared to be important external facets of in-group acceptance.

Three specific case-study examples were drawn on to demonstrate the fluctuation between a South African and Indian identity. The majority of the participants, and further expanded on by the three-case study examples, illustrated the many factors mediating the cultural and national identity of the minority group. The case-study examples drew on the narratives of three Indian women from the Akasai community, each coming from a distinctly different background. The case-studies proved useful in again analysing in-group acceptance, but more strictly identified a South African identity as holding more importance than Indian. This preference of South African identity was mirrored by most participants' discursive constructions. Interestingly however, religion again emerged as an even stronger unifying factor than both 'race' and cultural identity. The above conclusions provide some additional clarity on the further processes identified by Pettigrew's (1998) review, asking for the qualities that define the out-group and the process of in-group assimilation.

This study draws to conclusion by a new pattern of internal segregation identified within Akasia. The community appeared to be divided into two separate categories: *South African Indian* and *immigrant Indian*. It was found that a hierarchical relationship characterised group dynamics. Discursive constructions created distinct differences between the groups, with the immigrant population belittled and described as dirty and uncivilised. A similar pattern of foreign invasion, as described in Durrheim and Dixon's (2004) beach studies, was depicted, with the 'local' community apprehensive of the large numbers of immigrants moving in. South African Indians, 'locals', assumed both spatial dominance and social status in the area. The relationship seemed to replicate that of White spatial status and superiority in Mokopane itself. Patterns of covert racism and superficial contact between the local and immigrant Indians seem to mirror the relationship of the South African Indians with the White, and sometimes Black, communities. Here, one questions the apparent replication of the old Apartheid order in the new social order of

the Akasia community. Does this prove a natural inclination to discriminate and segregate against apparent ‘outsiders’? Or have the ideals of Apartheid become internalised and reproduced? The animosity between the groups and the re-segregation in the community is, however, not regarded as acceptable. The ‘local’ Indians do acknowledge the problem with the division in the community. The internal division may therefore not be as deeply rooted as historical racial segregation patterns, and even suggest an openness to change. Religion again emerges as the key component in creating some sense of group solidarity. The Akasia community is loosely united under the commonality of being Muslim. A common factor between groups may prove to be the key element in initiating integration and inter-group cohesiveness.

Towards Reconciliation

It is easy to pinpoint small towns as being highly racist or conservative in their views. The real question asked is: how we can move towards reconciliation? What purpose does ‘race’ relation research serve? Is it to only document and describe, or can it be used to help work towards finding a resolution? Obviously there is no cure or easy solution to prejudice and social divisions, however such studies can lead to social action or at least help communities engage in a dialogue of transformation. This account of the Akasia minority may appear to be labelling and characterising integration patterns as unpromising. However, there were many clear markers of a move towards reconciliation. The Indian minority’s own criticism of the segregation within their community is a testimony of the potential for transformation and reconciliation.

Although not the focus of this study, isolated cases of reconciliation were readily identified. Racial integration at schools in South Africa has mostly not had the desired effect. Although formal legislation on segregation in schools has long been disbanded, genuine interracial integration has proved to be problematic (Dolby, 2001; Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney, 2005). Integration challenges at schools in Mokopane are not an exception. Inter-racial tension at the local high school, Potgietersrus Hoër Skool, is in fact a continued dilemma for the Indian community in particular. Some interviews even raised concerns relating to the establishment of a private primary school in the Indian area, causing both racial and economic divisions in the

community¹⁶. However, observations concluded that in both the government and private primary school there is an almost even ratio between Black and Indian students, with few White learners attending either school. Interviews and observations revealed that integration between Black and Indian students has had very positive results. Ashwine, the principle of the *Akasia Primary School*- the government school, describes the relationship between the Black and Indian children as encouraging. Ashwine explains how Black and Indian children “run to him and hug him... truly seeing what mixing has done”. In both schools teachers describe, and observations concur, that Indian and Black learners interact in class-rooms and the playground without any apparent racialised animosity or social distance. Referring to Black-Indian interactions in the private school, one of the mothers recalls her child referring to a Black friend as “the chocolate covered boy”. This description suggests that the boy is seemingly oblivious to racialised classification, describing his friend with a childlike innocence.

Moreover, it appears that group cohesiveness can be achieved with the mediation of one commonality. Brown (1995) argues that social classification is a prerequisite for prejudice, therefore breaking down social categories may minimise bigoted tendencies. He proposes a hypothesis of *cross-cutting categories* as a commonly found phenomenon. Brown describes cross-cutting categories as two categories that literally ‘cut’ the other, creating a common factor between different groups. For example, the Black and Indian groupings are two racialised categories that can be ‘cut’ or ‘crossed’ by religion, language, gender or the liberation struggle, facilitating what is called *cross-cutting kinship*. Many seemingly different groups are in fact interdependent. This may, for example, explain how the combined effort of the Black and Indian community in the Liberation struggle may have helped harbour better relations between the two

¹⁶ *Akasia Primary School*, has long been the only ‘Indian’ primary school in the area, previously designated as an ‘Indian only’ school during Apartheid. In recent year, the school has integrated with many Black and few White students. Five years ago, *MEPS* (Mokopane English-Medium Primary School) was established by a few affluent members of the Indian community. Certain interviews revealed a concern among some of the parents regarding the low standard of the *Akasia Primary School*, resulting in the founding of *MEPS*. Other participants however, questioned the true intentions of the founding of the new school, claiming the true concern was concerning the influx of too many Black students to the school. However, observations concluded that *MEPS* itself has more Black students than Indian; both primary school appeared to have a good ratio of Black-to-Indian students, with few White learners attending.

groups. A further example of *cross-cutting kinship* may be represented by Kayvan, a Black Muslim, living in Akasia and working for the Mosque. Kayven, a middle-aged family-man, proved to be a noteworthy case-example of the possibilities that exist for group integration. As a Black male, originally coming from the townships, Kayven narrates how Akasia has now become his home. After converting to Islam and pursuing Islamic studies, Keyvan now works for the mosque and lives with his family in Akasia. Although his account does comment on the ‘cultural’ differences and consequent difficulties in integration, his Muslim identity appears to overshadow other differences, including ‘race’.

In this respect, it is interesting to consider the impact of these commonalities and cross-cutting aspects. Nationality, comradely during the Apartheid struggle, to a less extent education and most strikingly religion can be examples of such commonalities or cross-cutting categories. It also appears that the less pervasive racial categorisation is the lower the tendency for racial segregation. In line with Pettigrew’s (1998) conclusions, the emotional qualities that characterise such interracial friendships must also be investigated. Exploring the reasons behind such changes in behaviour or integration patterns can enlighten our understanding of how to cultivate inter-racial friendships. In many respects the reconciliation processes in South Africa can be considered as top-down or institutional transformation. Bottom-up or grassroots attempts at reconciliation with communities may prove to be more successful in instigating genuine change and integration.

Limitations of the Study and Prospects for Future Research

Although this study was limited to a small, case-specific investigation, it serves as another important addition in the analysis of the micro-ecology of segregation. It is not the intention of this study to create wide, generalisable laws of Indian identity or their interplay in South African segregation patterns. Integration patterns may very well differ considerably in other Indian communities, depending on the geographical location and history of the area. This research intended to give a voice to the Indian minority; using the Akasia community in Mokopane, offering some insight into the inner workings of segregation and identity dynamics. A case-study approach offered a unique opportunity to explore these questions in a more intimate environment. However, the lack of a working definition for small towns is a methodological

limitation. Although understood as a micro-ecological setting, one can question the conception of a small town on a micro-analytical scale. Focus on the Akasia community specifically, did however minimise the analytical range. Future studies may find it useful to direct research on more specific micro-ecological aspects, such as schools. More focused studies may offer more systematic methods of tracking and exploring patterns of regulated contact.

It can be argued that this study may lack one central theoretic approach. Multiple theoretical paradigms have directed this research to provide an integrated analysis. Using broad literature on 'race' relations research; the contact hypothesis and the micro-ecology of contact; theories on place-identity and embodiment and minority studies, a combined theoretical framework was presented. Although not the intention of this research, one may further consider this work as a study on human relations, rather than 'race' relations specifically. Explorations seemed to naturally evolve into more direct identity related questions. A more detailed theoretical examination on minority and collective identity in future studies may allow for a more comprehensive understanding of identity-specific interests.

Responding to a call for a methodological shift, this study embraced a spatial-discursive framework, integrating an embodied approach. A hybrid methodological approach was used, with discursive analysis given more preference. A more systematic method of data collection and analysis, using more developed social-spatial techniques, may help enhance our understanding of spatial changes. Sampling methods could also be further refined to access a larger variety of voices. Language and social barriers with the immigrant Indian community, for example, prevented access. This lack of sampling may have also resulted in marginalising the immigrant community's perspective. The use of the interview data can additionally come into question. All 28 interviews were used to determine general trends in informal segregation and shifting identity conceptions. However, certain interviews were selectively drawn on, for example the three female case-studies. Here, specific cases were used to better demonstrate shifting conceptions of Indian minority identity. Limited space in this thesis however prevented more in-depth formal commentary of each participant's interview.

This study serves as a first step towards future studies on minority positioning in understanding patterns of informal segregation. More extensive work is needed to expand research focus to include a wider comparative analysis. Black, White and Indian interviews, for example, can be collectively analysed to construct a broader understanding of minority influence. What has been neglected in this study is any formal analysis of gender considerations. With the exception of the use of the specific case-studies and some brief reference to gender concerns, it has mostly been overlooked. This is not to say that gender matters did not arise as significant, but rather that it moved beyond the scope of this present investigation. Further studies should consider the integration of 'race' and gender as a means of social division, tracking the legacy of both racist and sexist ideologies of Apartheid.

As this concluding chapter has already emphasised, future research should invest attention to mapping progress in cases of reconciliation in particular. This study has demonstrated that a commonality can be the biggest influence in group integration, whether it's 'culture', family, nationality or religion. More direct focus on successful accounts of integration can offer more insight into the key components needed for future reconciliation. If racism has evolved into a normalised practice in society (Essed, 1991), then it is necessary to combat the structure of the entire social order, on both an institutional and interpersonal level. Prejudice and segregation is so deeply rooted into the fibre of the current social order, it is daunting to contemplate possibilities for resolution. However, as Essed highlights, it is first necessary to understand the inner dynamics of continued racist practices and then move towards action and intervention.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guideline

Basic **demographic** questions asked and **‘Warm up’ discussion** with each person about their **biographical background**.

For example:

- Where were you born and raised?
- What do you do for a living and how did that come about?

1. Tell me about ‘race’ relations in the town.
2. Tell me about the Akasia community. What is happening here? Do you like living here?
3. Has anything changed in this community/town since 1994? Have there been more immigrants? Do people like these changes?
4. Would you describe the Indian/Akasia community? How do you place/perceive yourself within the community?
5. Are you aware of groups in this community? Do they dislike each other? Is there conflict within the Indian community?
6. Has there been integration of the Indian community with of other ‘race’ groups in the town? How do you think you/community are perceived within the town?

7. Can you tell me one or two stories that would illustrate some of the things we have spoken about transformation in the above?

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APPENDIX B

Informed consent form

Informed Consent to Participate in Research

1. Title of Research Study

Questioning Informal Segregation: “Race” and Space among the Indian community of Mokopane

2. Principal Investigator and Telephone Number(s)

Don Foster, Ph.D.

Professor

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

Sahba Shaker

Masters Student

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

021 685 1710

083 277 1002

5. Purpose of this research study

The main purpose of this research is to investigate continued informal segregation, specifically within minority communities small/rural towns in South Africa.

6. Your participation

In this study you will be asked to participate in an interview lasting approximately one hour. If at any time during the interview you experience any discomfort, you are free to discontinue your participation without penalty.

7. Benefits and risks

Information from this study may help our understanding of continued racial segregation and discord in South Africa. Ultimately, the research may help improve the process of racial desegregation in South Africa. There are no risks associated with this study.

8. Confidentiality

The information gathered will be tape-recorded and transcribed, however the information include will not identify you directly or include your name.

By signing the below I am acknowledge that I have read and understood the above information and I am aware that I can discontinue my participation in the study at any time.

Signature_____

Date_____

Phone number: _____

E-mail address: _____

Mailing address: _____

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